

MACLEAN'S

EXCLUSIVE REPORT

The last days of anti-war
U.S. Senator Paul Wellstone

NOT YOUR PARENTS' CANADA

Smaller families, same-sex
unions, common-law couples...

THE MAKING OF A SNIPER

What turned a misfit into
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"I take exception to the contemptuous tone Peter Donolo uses toward people in Canada who see value in Her Majesty." —**AMERICAN DRIVE**

Long may she reign

Washing news headlines during the 13-day visit of Her Majesty to Canada left no doubt in my mind who provided the best public role model ("The Queen in Canada," Cover, Oct. 21). Measured against the gauche, inept John Manley and the persistently aggressive George Bush, the grace and dignity of Queen Elizabeth was most inspiring. If these thoughts make me a "monarchist," so be it. I like seeing the happy, respectful faces of "ordinary" citizens when they are in the presence of the royal. It is a refreshing contrast to placid-carrying politicians and non-participating voters. Until Canada produces more political leaders who demonstrate its majesty, long may she reign.

E.L. Donnellson, Calgary



Why do we have to be subjected to the cost of prostrating ourselves before the House of Windsor? Why pay to keep a Governor General as well as Lieutenant-Governors in every province? Paying for the leases of the house of Windsor is another consequence of history that we Canadians no longer can afford. Dump the monarchy.

Ralf Cahill, Newberry, B.C.

My, but those "monarchist grumblers" to whom Peter Donolo refers ("A natural evolution," Cover Essay, Oct. 21) are masses of ignorance. In the crowds of people who fawned to meet the Queen, most grumblers were able to make themselves look like children, teenagers with tattoos, leeches, leeches, leeches, young and old—an awful lot like a cross-section of Canada.

Bryan Thomas, Toronto

Did John Manley make you do it?
Heather Hall, Canajoharie, Ont.

The Crown stands for the things that unite us, while Peter Donolo's politician gets represent the things that divide us. The Queen and her team of government guarantee that the Constitution is obeyed, they honour Canadians for bravery and volunteerism,

encourage tolerance and community spirit and teach practical civics in their 5,000-odd public engagements each year. Donolo is a desecrator to suggest that constitutionally it would be simple to abolish the monarchy. The debate would make the constitutional tinkering of the 1980s to 1990s seem a church picnic comparison.

John L. Kinnear, Canadian Chiropractic Association
The Monarchist League of Canada, Cobourg, Ont.

SCRATCH MANY A MACLEAN'S READER AND THE BLOOD WILL RUN ROYAL BLUE. TRUE, WE RECEIVED numerous letters in support of Peter Donolo's essay endorsing the abolition of the monarchy. But for passion, they don't compare with readers who saw Donolo's argument as an attack on the very fabric of Canada. "It must have taken Mr. Donolo considerable courage and fortitude to write such drivel," according to Edwin R. Wood of Brighton, Ont. "He obviously represents certain subversive elements." Thomas Baxter of Thunder Bay, Ont., was equally direct: "Your little essay exemplifies all that is wrong with our politicians and their mediocrity in Ottawa, and with a large portion of the media, like yourselves for failing to publish such nonsense."

I wholeheartedly agree with Peter Donolo's view that the monarchy has survived to usefulness in Canada. With the Statute of Westminster (1931) giving our country an independent foreign policy, the adoption of the Canadian flag (1965) and the patriation of our Constitution (1982), Donolo is correct in asserting that there is one more act needed to completely sever all ties to our colonial past. We must always remember that the monarchy is an inherently undemocratic institution and we would all be better with out its presence.

Michael A. Huxell, Thornhill, Ont.

The Queen as head of state is a cosmetic anachronism compared with what truly marks us as a colonized outpost: our slavish retention of the British political system. From our appointed senators to our unelected Supreme Court judges and our over-powerful Prime Minister's Office, Canadians have held on to the old British political model. Canadians should get over their concerns with unrepresentational change such as getting rid of the Queen and focus on developing a truly Canadian political system.

Robert Stewart, Toronto

It's apparently too much to ask that Canadians simply be allowed to enjoy the Queen's visit. For those who object to the role of the monarchy in Canada, it should be easy enough to ignore them.

Hugh P. Church, Maynooth, Ont.

Of course the Crown is symbolic. To Peter Donolo it would appear to be symbolic of mundane things like the misdeeds of princes or offshoot, spoiled royals. To more serious thinkers it speaks of Magna Carta, Parliament, habeas corpus, English common law, Shakespeare, Milton, Shakespeare and the terrible wars of the 19th and 20th centuries which we determined how we would be governed. And now, a symbol of this experience is foreign to us?

L.M. Arnold, Stouffville, Ont.

It is difficult for me to understand how some Canadians could want to do away with an institution that has served the nation as well. Why do Canadians have to be unnecessarily troubled with constitutional problems? Why can't you just, on occasion, leave well enough alone?

Julien Rios, San Diego, Calif.

4:30 a.m. Sick child.
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THE MAIL

Shackled POWs

According to stories I heard from Diego survivors, the order to shackle the hands of German prisoners of war was in reaction to the shuffling of Canadian POWs captured at Dieppe by the Germans ("The Barenville riot," History, Oct. 7). That, in turn, was prompted by a copy of the Canadian operation order, sent by German soldiers, which advised the invaders to "be the hands of off-German prisoners. Brig. Gen. Potts, commander of Central Command, was visiting the Niagara, Ont., POW camp in Fort Henry when the order to shackle German prisoners was sent by army headquarters in Ottawa directly to all prison camps. When he saw the bound prisoners, he ordered the shackles removed, despite staff objections that it was an order from Ottawa. He then sent a telex message to his army headquarters superiors. Gen. Potts, an amazing Canadian who began his army career as a private in the First World War, would not tolerate stupidity.

Charles Mosler, *Orangeville, Ont.*

Honorable mention

It's amazing how many out-of-the-mall politicians have received the Order of Canada, yet someone like Paul Axka ("Longevity is what I'm about," Q&A, Oct. 14), who has always credited Canada with giving him a good grounding, has not yet been a recipient.

Douglas Clark, *Orillia, Ont.*

Toronto bashing

I am sorry to find about the expensive Newfoundland's unfortunate experiences in Toronto after being stranded there during the unprecedented events of Sept. 11, 2001 ("Inhabitable," The Mail, Oct. 7). By contrast, the hospitality shown those stranded in Gander, Nfld., deserves their pride. However, she does not appear to understand how the circumstances and dynamics of a large metropolitan centre would affect the logistics of matching waiting hours with stranded passengers. The difference is not, as the columnist is, due to the so-called heartlessness of the van and varied population of the Greater Toronto Area—we reflect just about every culture in the world, including small-town Newfoundland.

Sabrina Norwood, *Mississauga, Ont.*

THE MAIL

In case of divorce

With all the comments and criticism of parents who want the lifestyle that can only be afforded by a two-income family, the real reason for this situation has been overlooked ("Lap of luxury," The Mail, Oct. 18). How many of these young parents have become aware of the loss of income related to divorce? Married to a lawyer, I stayed home with my five children. Divorced after 18 years of marriage, it took me three years to earn enough for us to escape living below the poverty level. I had been a teacher but there were few jobs, so I had to find a new career path. I taught my children that mothers should not give up their careers. I advised my daughters to search for a career as a pre-requisite that if they needed to go back to work, it would be possible to resume their careers.

Jan Lubick, *Toronto*

Living with the viper

As a longtime resident of Victoria, next door to Maryland, I found your article on "what it's like living in a climate of terror" per haps a bit over-the-top ("In fear of a serial sniper," Letter from Maryland, Oct. 23). Tragedies, the sniper's actions have made us all act with a little more caution than usual. But I think many of us are developing a false sense of determination not to let this person or these persons take over our lives. As bad as all this has been, most of us will survive. The British learned this during the Blitz. The bombs have done no harm to us for over 50 years. Now it's our turn to learn, and learn we will.

Jack Brainerd, *Victoria, B.C.*

Slack of pollution

No wonder people's health problems are worsening, when our environment is deteriorating on a worrisome scale ("Trouble spots," The Mail's Health Report, Oct. 21). Not only should Canada and other nations sign on to the Kyoto agreement, but we should also begin fully exploiting such clean sources of energy as wind, sunlight and tidal-wave flows. For many years, California has exploited the winds, therefore seem to be a good starting point for clean energy also. And, really, what good is creating millions of jobs—the rallying cry of politicians when people are sick, dying or already dead because of environmental degradation? It's quite depressing.

Frank S. Steyer Jr., *White Rock, B.C.*



Celebrating Robert Bateman as a writer

Realistic master

Though Robert Bateman's vision in the wilderness is as strong as ever, it's long begged me that his realistic depictions of wildlife have been largely ignored by the fine-art establishment, especially the major publicly funded galleries ("Robert Bateman soars with the birds," Art, Oct. 21). For my eyes, Bateman's really is a singular master painter.

Mendelsohn Joe, *Ottawa, Ont.*

Wisdom at the wheel

Kevin Mahood speaks the truth about many cab drivers ("Cabbies and culture," Over to You, Oct. 23). I have such many conversations with them and have come out with a greater knowledge of the world. Recently, I had a long and interesting conversation with a driver from Nigeria. Such openness and a general positive outlook I have never come across. Let it be known that to judge on first impressions is to deny oneself much knowledge.

Andrea Skarupowska, *Toronto*

The cost of spending

"Bliss in the system" (Health Care, Oct. 14) states that B.C. Premier Gordon Campbell is committed to deficit reduction and "temporarily" an ideological quest for smaller government. "How many times during the 25 or so years that governments in Canada run massive deficits and interpreted the country's future and the media across: there's Thelma, Bob Rae and then 26 of 'putting an ideological quest for bigger government'?" My bet is not once. In 2004-2005, the interest charges on the federal debt could have paid

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THE MAIL

for a lot of hospitals. So who has done more harm to the welfare state: those who advocate balanced budgets or those responsible for such massive overspending, that the country can no longer service the needs of its citizens?

Ken Barleben, Minneapolis, Minn.

During the past few months, due to the illness and subsequent passing of my elderly father-in-law, I witnessed the results of the ramblings of the outcasts by the uncaring Liberal government ("Elderly citizens from the Roothens," Health Care, Oct. 14). I have many friends in the area and I am deeply distressed with the traveling distances necessary to receive any kind of specialized medical care or even hospitalization. Outcasts in the area and the quality of home care for the elderly and infirm have caused great hardships for many people. It seems that the people of rural B.C. have been labelled second class, not important enough for the Liberals to care about.

Janice Buckland, Greater Vancouver

Since the Vietnam War, Nelson, B.C., has been known as a hotbed of NDP radicals and activists. I lived here in those days, when U.S. draft dodgers arrived in droves. They and their offspring are well organized as athletes and are expert at protesting anything the government doesn't give them, or takes away. The fact is, after 10 years of their rule mismanagement of taxpayers' money by the NDP government in British Columbia, the health care system has to be reorganized and repaired. No one can say that health care in Nelson is poor. Those trips to Troll are not insurance and they've been rapists for years.

Harvey Whitford/Mp, Nelson, B.C.

A shot in the dark

Thank you so much for having the courage to feature the article "No vaccine or cure," (Health, Oct. 7). I wish the U.S. press would take your lead. My son has autism and I firmly believe childhood vaccines played a role in his disorder. He is currently undergoing chelation to remove the metals in his body and we are hopeful his condition will improve. Maybe vaccines containing thimerosal are perfectly safe. But if that's the case, why won't the medical community and drug companies proceed to be worried

parents by conducting meaningful, independent studies?

Mindy Peak, Irvine, Ohio

The statement by Dr. Jeanne Kreitzer, chairwoman of the Canadian Pediatric Society is infectious disease and immunization controversy, that the risk potential posed by these immunizations is equivalent to an "on this righting another coin." Dr. Paul Vining's choice—"Would a parent prefer a child to have a disease as opposed to a minor amount of money?"—is unacceptable. Both opinions, expressed by influential immunization advocates, contribute to the continuing erosion of public confidence.

William Bussat, Kitchener, Ont.

Interfaith feast

While I was for the most part delighted by Irina Murg's commentary "Thanks to my country" (The Back Page, Oct. 21), her first statement has left me puzzled why he has suggested that Thanksgiving is a Christian holiday? Let's come to a decision, Thanksgiving has been a North American celebration of nature's bounty since long before this land

was first occupied by Christian faith. Many foods traditionally served on this holiday—turkey, squash, wild rice, cranberries—are native to this continent. The themes of Thanksgiving, while having originated in these Nations and now, are compatible with most religions of the earth, which explains why they were so readily adopted by early Christian settlers. We are all thankful to the Great Spirit for providing us with life and sustenance. Perhaps if we looked closely, we would find that many religious ground traditions follow nature (for an universal in nature, and not specific to one cultural group).

Marika Richter, Calgary, Ont.

Irina Murg's admission for someone right, neither who considered it a privilege to serve on a trial jury is to be admired. They are absolutely right. I have served on three juries, twice in Canada and once in Singapore. Jury service is a way to pay in some small way for the legal privileges and protection we enjoy in this country. I have noticed that contempt for those who try to avoid this commitment.

Tony Slater, Maine

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THEWEEK



Iraq | 'We sacrifice our blood and souls for Saddam'

Chanting, "We sacrifice our blood and souls for Saddam," thousands of inmates streamed out of Iraqi prisons after Saddam Hussein declared an amnesty on Oct. 28 for anyone imprisoned or arrested for "political or any other reasons." The announcement brought crowds of relatives to join across the country, where they were greeted by thousands of cheering prisoners. "We are ready to defend our leader and country with our blood," said a man named Husein, who was suddenly freed from the infamous Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad. "Today, we see given a great chance to start a new life."

Some prisoners were killed in the crush. And it was unclear what happened to oth-

ers—the following day, hundreds of people unable to find jailed relatives marched on a Baghdad police station. Meanwhile, we could not resist to gather. Last week, American officials pressed a resolution on Iraq to the UN Security Council, one that would sanction a military response if Iraq does not allow weapons inspectors unfettered access. The U.S. still has some tough diplomatic work ahead. Of the other four permanent council members—Britain, France, Russia and China—any one can veto the resolution when it finally comes to a vote. But "We hang on to our message, according to one Bush administration official, was, "You're either with us or against us."

Inmates race from a prison near Baghdad after the regime's surprise amnesty



ScoreCard

A The Family: Married, empty, clean-cut and successful Beners, census shows a much-changed Canadian household. Is he the 43 per cent of young adults who don't leave home? Love ya, boys, but we're moving into a one-bedroom condo.

A Yoon Moon: His life as a hero anti-terrorist leader grew, in a life author field that featured two other Canadians, Cilla Collins, with its rich, culturally diverse voices. "The greatest hotel on earth." Consider yourself upgraded to a suite.

A Holey Widenhooper: Early attempt by Olympic hockey hero to join an Italian men's league, snuffed by country's governing sports body. Even sympathy for victim of old World wars, but hey, let's not let a Canadian miss from other.

A Wayne Barker: Fellow Prince Edward Islander replaces Lawrence MacAulay as cabinet. His qualifications? He's an early child, joins uniform PM. Man I see a lovely Barker, though. Prisoner of war, released from the hospital, now want for friends.

A Paul Martin: Says too much power is concentrated in the Prime Minister's Office, where job-hopping reforms. Nothing like a quiet on the back bench to appreciate the need to remain calm in where it belongs—the Department of Finance.

Quote of the week | "I'm going to jail with my head held high. There's no fear here, I'm from Canada and I can handle it. I gotta go—I have a cocktail waiting for me."

KATHRYN GAWRON, Peace George, B.C.-born former porn-star, in her three-month U.S. sentence for taking part in an insider-trading conspiracy

Picture this

After the mannequin of Stowell Day, the Canadian Alliance was hoping for better things from Stephen Harper. But the Alliance leader showed him week that he can smile with the best of them. During a heated exchange in the House, Harper smiled cynically on the part of disgraced Liberal cabinet ministers—a parliamentary no-no—by saying their “rag show” could be posted “in most of the police stations in the country.” The NDP’s Brent Robinson, an MP of 23 years’ standing, took exception to that. Harper’s response to Robinson, who says, “I am sure the picture of the honourable member of the NDP is posted in much more wonderful places than just police stations.” MPs were not amused, most of all Robinson, who called the remark a “thickly veiled homophobic attack.”

The strange case of Maher Arar

Two weeks after being deported by the United States, Maher Arar finally surfaced in Syria. The 33-year-old Ottawa engineer, who holds dual Canadian and Syrian citizenship, was arrested in New York on Sept. 26 while trying to change flights after returning from a Tunisian holiday. U.S. officials deported the father of two on Oct. 1 because of alleged terrorist ties, but have not explained why they sent Arar, who was travelling on a Canadian passport, to Syria instead of Canada. Arar, who apparently went first to Jordan before being sent on to Syria,

was allowed to meet last week with a Canadian consul. Syrian authorities have said they are investigating him to see whether he has terrorist connections.

‘Solid citizens’

Elaine Cox George Ryan hosted a fundraising reception at his Springfield mansion for the two U.S. pilots facing charges in the friendly fire deaths of four Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan last April. “I know these two fellows and I know their wives,” Ryan said of majors Harry Schmidt and Bill Unsbach. “They’re not people who commit manslaughter. They’re solid, sound citizens—they’re not cowboys.” Support is building for the two pilots, viewed by many as being made into scapegoats by the military.

Race and the police

Regrettably, the Toronto Star—that was the call from Toronto Police Association president Craig Brown II, after the newspaper published an exposé on alleged racial profiling by the city’s police. Based on a review of police records, the Star exposed that black men are treated much more harshly than whites. Former lieutenant-governor Lincoln Alexander, who is black, said the findings “not only disturb me but a lot of people—this is the sort of thing that has to be fixed head-on.” Other leaders from the black community said the report only underscored what they already knew. Police spokesmen, however, criticized the Star’s methodology—illegible, for one,

noted that the report was based only on a small percentage of arrests. And he threatened a lawsuit against the paper for defaming the association’s 72,000 members.

Ball tragedy

Richard Gleason, 38, a Vancouver accountant, died of burns sustained in the Oct. 12 terrorist bombing of a popular nightclub in Bali. Some 200 people—at least 90 of them Australians—were killed in the horrific blast, while 300 were injured. Another Canadian, Mary Populynac of Saskatchewan, is also believed to have perished in the attack, but at week’s end no bodies were still waiting for a positive identification from dental records.

A plan for Kyoto

Canadians will be asked to better insulate their homes and drive less—and probably do the speed limit—in order to meet Ottawa’s new targets for reducing greenhouse gases. But the bulk, nearly 40 per cent, of the burden of meeting the Kyoto requirement and cutting carbon emissions by 344 million tonnes by 2012 will fall on the energy sector and heavy industry. Ottawa’s latest plan, released last week, is short on specifics and incentives. But the government’s best guess is that Kyoto will add three cents to the price of a barrel of oil and \$2.70 to the price of a tonne of commercially produced steel.

Lord taketh away

He’d been counted as the Tories’ Great Liberal Hope. But New Brunswick Premier Bernard Lord, 57, finally pulled the plug last week, ending weeks of speculation that he would run for the federal Conservative leadership. “My obligation to the people of this province is very important to me at this time,” he said. “The door is not only closed, it is locked.”

Martha’s trials

Poor Martha Stewart—everyone’s piling on her now. Not only the Securities and Exchange Commission, which told her in a letter that investigators had recommended civil charges against her in the long-running InClosc insider trading scandal (the SEC almost always follows such recommendations). Not only Kathryn Gossman, the Canadian ex-porn star convicted of insider trading due to a relationship with an investment banker. “You little prude,” Goss-



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DODGE STRATUS BORN TO BE ALIVE

THE WEEK

now said of Stewart: "Now cancer is going downhill." No, there was also a Denver-based maker of pumpkin-carving equipment, which sued Stewart for patent infringement as Halloween loomed. There was *Caliber*: With readers of Scott Adams's office-life comic strip voted Stewart the year's "Worstest Individual." And there was her own book, which said it would "monitor and evaluate the situation" as speculation grew that the chairman and CEO of Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia Inc. might be stripped of her title.

Discipline and assault

Lucille Puelin maintained that the way the disciplined children on the P.E.T. religious commune she led was reasonable and not excessive. Last week, the judge hearing her case in Charlotte said no, and found the former Catholic nun guilty of assaulting five children. During Puelin's trial the five testified that they had regularly been beaten with a wooden paddle and made to work unreasonably long hours.

New taxes for health care

A Senate committee called for a \$5-billion-per-year infusion of new money into the

health-care system, to be raised by an increase in the GST and through insurance premiums, ranging from \$182 to \$1,400 per year based on taxable income. The committee, headed by Senator Michael Kirby, said an independent health-care commissioner should be appointed to report annually on how Canada's health-care dollars are being spent. Among other recommendations: expanding Medicare to cover "catastrophic" drug costs. Another major report on health care, from former Saskatchewan premier Roy Romanow, is due next month.

Post-warrior buy a watch?

Gurli's jewellery once owned by the Ravits, the notorious couple who ran Toronto's King's Health Centre, was sold last week at Ritchie's Auctioneers in Toronto. Among the items up for sale were his and her watches: a chivalry 18-karat yellow-gold Rolex with diamond and sapphire markers went for \$14,950, tax included, while an 18-karat yellow-gold Rolex, with a mother-of-pearl dial set with diamonds, garnered \$16,100. The Ravits, both 51, were on the run for 2½ months in 2000 after serving an estimated \$92 million from financial institutions.

Religion | 'James, son of Joseph, brother of Jesus'

The words are carved in Aramaic onto a recently discovered ossuary dating from around 63 A.D. "James, son of Joseph, brother of Jesus." They may be the earliest written mention of Christ outside of the New Testament. But did the ossuary once contain the remains of the James, brother of Christ and the first apostle?

Some experts think so: two thousand years ago, skeletal remains were commonly placed in such stone boxes. This particular ossuary is thought to have originated from a cave near the Old City of Jerusalem, owned by an unnamed collector in Israel for 15 years. It belonged to a visiting scholar noticed it last March. Since then, scientists have meticulously studied it, and date tests that indicate the ossuary was not carved at a later date. The names—YOSIAS, IHSO and YHESUS in Aramaic—were, of course, common in ancient times. But Hershel Shanks, editor of the *Biblical Archaeologist* journal, notes that "the statistical probability of all three appearing at the same time is extremely thin." Shanks also notes that the mention of a brother is unusual—"indicating that this Jesus must have been a well-known figure."



Why some Biblical scholars are excited

As was the real-life James, who became the leader of Jerusalem's emerging Christian community after the crucifixion and was executed around 63 A.D. Was he really Jesus's brother? Protestants generally believe that after the virgin birth, Joseph and Mary had other children. But the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches believe in Mary's "perpetual virginity." Orthodox doctrine gets around that by regarding James as a stepbrother—Joseph's son from a previous marriage. Catholics tend to define "brother" as meaning any close relative.

Passages

OLD Richard Harris was one of nine children born on a farm in Limerick, Ireland. He was in his late 30s when he appeared in his first movie, *Alvin and the Chipmunks* (1956), but became known for his roles in *A Man Called Horse* and *The Sporting Life*. However, he needed a new generation of fans with his portrayal of Professor Albus Dumbledore in the recent *Harry Potter* movie. Harris, 71, died in a London hospital where he was being treated for Hodgkin's disease.



OWED Hayley Wickenheiser, the Olympic gold medalist hockey player from Shawinigan, Que., was denied a chance to play professionally with an Italian men's team. Wickenheiser had all but signed a contract with the Monza Eagles, but the Italian Ice Hockey Federation ruled against her, stating that a woman's place is in a women's league.

ANNOUNCED Ted Rogers, president and CEO of Rogers Communications Inc., will be inducted into the Cable Television Hall of Fame in Denver. Rogers, 69, founded Rogers Cable TV Ltd. in the early '70s and expanded with the acquisitions of several communications companies, including Maclean Hunter Ltd., parent of Maclean's.

OLD Richard Helms began his career in journalism, gaining recognition with his exclusive Adolf Hitler interview in the late 1930s. Later, the St. David, Pa. born Helms became a spy and was head of the CIA from 1966 till president Richard Nixon fired him in 1972 for refusing to block the FBI investigation into the Watergate affair. Helms, 85, died at home in Washington.

HONORIFIED Maclean's columnist Allan Felschingham, 70, is the recipient of the 2002 Bruce Haischen Lifetime Achievement Award for his contribution to Canadian journalism during his 48-year career. Maclean's contributing editor Sally Armstrong, 58, will receive an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters from McGill University this week. The Montreal institution awards individuals who, through achieving excellence in their work, provide inspiration and leadership to graduates.

THEM



RUSSIA

It was a chilling sight: in the early hours of Oct. 25, ambulances after ambulances descending on the Moscow theatre where hundreds of hostages had been held by Chechen rebels. The hostages taken had said that, if Russia did not begin withdrawing troops from Chechnya in seven days, they would begin killing hostages. And so Russian troops moved in, securing the theatre and killing, according to reports, *Moscow Bureau*, the nephew of Chechen warlord *Abdus Salamov* who led in a shoot-out with Russian soldiers last year.

At week's end it remained unclear how many people had died or been injured when troops stormed the building, although Russian officials said they had avoided massive

bloodshed. Initially, more than 700 people had been at the theatre when the heavily armed rebels, both men and women, struck on Oct. 23 at 9 p.m., just as patrons were returning to their seats to watch the second set of a popular musical. "We are more keen on dying than you are keen on living," a black-clad hostage-taker said on a TV broadcast. "Each of us is willing to sacrifice himself for the sake of God and the independence of Chechnya."

Backing up those words were the automatic weapons, grenades, belts with explosives, knives and canisters of gasolene the rebels brought with them. Speaking by cell phone to a local radio station, one hostage said that the hostage-takers strangled explosives to chains, support columns and walls. But they did release more than 100 women

A crisis with hundreds of hostages, and little more about the streets of Moscow

and children, as well as the corpse of a woman who was killed when she rebel's first attacked the theatre.

The incident was a bitter blow for Russian President Vladimir Putin, who has reportedly said Russia has the situation in Chechnya, a mainly Muslim republic in southern Russia, under control. Russian forces left Chechnya in 1997 after a disastrous war in which nearly 12,000 Russian soldiers died. But Russian troops returned in 1999 after attacks by rebels. Authorities blame Chechen militants for a series of 1999 Moscow apartment bombings that killed more than 300 people. As last week showed, the Chechen threat to Moscow may be far from over.

HELP FOR CAREGIVERS



STILL A NATIONAL DREAM

As Canada's senior population grows the dream of a national home care program seems to have been forgotten. The service and advocacy organizations remain hopeful that good news will emerge from forthcoming studies into the future of home care and long-term care.

"Most Canadians say they want national standards that ensure a full range of services for long-term care,"

says Sharon Sholtzberg Gray, president of the Canadian Healthcare Association. "But no one's going to have national standards until there's money."

There is hope that the Romanow Commission, which is studying Canada's health care system, will find creative ways to resolve the issue of funding for programs to ensure quality care for the elderly she says. The Commission will release its report in

November, meanwhile the patchwork of support services available across Canada remains.

Another federally funded study which deals with home care and the availability of human resources to support the necessary services is expected in early 2003. Sholtzberg Gray says. Health care system reform must allow services to be broadened beyond hospitals to the home and the community.

There are proven treatments that can help you face Alzheimer's disease.



Alzheimer's disease could be staring you in the face. Would you recognize some of the signs?

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- Disorientation
- Problems with language
- Difficulty performing familiar tasks

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And be sure to speak to your family physician about treatment today. It could mean the difference between facing the future and facing it.

Alzheimer's disease

See the signs. Seek treatment.

Speak to your physician about treatment today.

CARING FOR AN AGING POPULATION



and science. Beverly Smith has received encouragement from politicians in her campaign to have the federal government end de facto discrimination against unpaid caregivers. She argues that refusing to recognize work performed by informal caregivers is unconstitutional.

Caregivers cannot contribute to the Canada Pension Plan or to RRSPs. The special deduction on income tax returns is less than the full personal deduction. Unpaid caregivers are denied employment insurance benefits and the child tax benefit is based on family income, not individual income.

In a submission to the Romanow Commission, Smith pointed out that penalizing informal caregivers forces people to enter professional care at a greater cost to themselves and the health care system.

Smith was received politely by Justice Minister Martin Cauchon in June, but he refused her request to take the case to the Supreme Court of Canada. Anne McLellan, Cauchon's predecessor, was more sympathetic and agreed to meet with Smith in her present position as Minister of Health. Other federal politicians of all political stripes have expressed their support for her position.

Despite these hopeful signs, Canadian families will continue to deal with the responsibilities of caring for an aging population for decades to come. And the dream of a national home care program remains as distant as ever.

CNS DISORDERS SLOW, STEADY PROGRESS

Steady growth in the number of Canadians with Alzheimer's disease and other forms of dementia will place a staggering load on Canada's overburdened health care system and family caregivers over the next 10 years. Other forms of central nervous system (CNS) disorders, such as Parkinson's disease or stroke, present an equally daunting challenge.

Family physicians and specialists, meanwhile, must treat the families of Alzheimer patients with great sensitivity and support to help them cope, says Dr. Gordon Winocur, Scientific Director of the Alzheimer Society of Canada. Those dealing with other forms of CNS need the same level of understanding.

An estimated 364,000 Canadians have been diagnosed with Alzheimer disease or related dementias. As baby boomers enter their retirement years between now and 2011, that number will grow by close to 112,000 cases annually. By 2011 the number is forecast to reach 750,000. The annual cost of treating Alzheimer disease in Canada was estimated conservatively at \$5.5 billion in the 1990s. That figure will grow dramatically as the population ages.

"Clearly this has major implications for health care and service delivery," says Winocur. "There's a huge strain on professional services and on personal support services to caregivers. Consider the tremendous burden this places on the family in terms of fatigue

Novartis and LaDonna drove her Cancer into remission in 29 days.



Just over two years ago, LaDonna's cancer made her too sick to walk. The only thing left for her to do was plan her own funeral. She bought a burial plot, picked out a casket and even selected her own funeral music. But those plans are behind her. Today, she's out of her wheelchair and back on life — and the best of her family. Novartis is proud to be the innovative force that's bringing new optimism and hope to patients and their families. No one can promise what the future holds for cancer patients, but today LaDonna is winning the fight against her particular form of cancer, enjoying a good quality of life and raising her dreams.

Think what's possible.

"In February of 1999, I chose the music for my own funeral. Within weeks, I got out of my wheelchair and walk on my own."

— LaDonna Loposko



www.novartis.ca

loneness and psychological effects. It's an enormous responsibility that many people are prepared to carry, but many others simply cannot.¹

Although the medical research community remains divided over the causes of Alzheimer disease, considerable progress has been made towards earlier diagnosis, primarily through neuroimaging techniques that can detect the hallmark features — thought to be the presence of plaques and protein tangles in patients' brains. Neuro-psychological assessment also helps anticipate the onset of Alzheimer. Even now, accurate diagnosis can only be confirmed through invasive examination after death.

Early diagnosis permits treatment of Alzheimer's milder symptoms, primarily through the use of three approved drugs: Aricept, Namenda and Exelon. But it also helps families anticipate the serious challenges they face, Winocur says.

"That's part of the importance of early detection. The more lead time there is, the longer you have to make necessary adjustments."

Once the disease has progressed to the point where the patient is too difficult to manage at home, the decision to accept institutionalized care must be made by the family in close consultation with appropriate professionals.

Winocur insists that doctors treating Alzheimer patients must constantly focus on the needs of family members who carry the initial burden of caring. This includes referrals to support services, such as those provided by the Alzheimer Society. The society allocated \$900,000 — more than a quarter of its \$3.4 million

research budget last year — to deal with the impact on families.

Chronic depression is common among patients with CNS disorders, including the earliest stages of Parkinson disease. For Parkinson patients suffering from a range of psychological and emotional trauma, common treatments include psychotherapy, electroconvulsive therapy and medication, including the newest antidepressants.

Depression also strikes many caregivers — three-quarters of whom are women — due to stress and feelings of inadequacy resulting from their heavy responsibilities for them: many antidepressant medications are beneficial when taken under physician supervision.

Stroke, which is the fourth leading cause of death in Canada and costs \$2.7 billion annually, poses special challenges for caregivers as well. Of 100,000 surviving stroke victims, 85 per cent now have some form of disability.

The clinician medication (a tissue plasminogen activator) has transformed treatment of those who suffer ischemic strokes (86 per cent of all strokes are ischemic). A brain scan must first be conducted to identify the type of stroke as hemorrhagic strokes cannot be treated with the drug. As a stroke, allowing rapid response diagnosis within a very short purchase requires major logistical strategies, such as special ambulance services or telemedicine technology.

Organizations providing specific information and guidance to CNS patients and their caregivers can be found through their web sites and toll-free phone numbers.

Health info for every body



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THE POLITICS OF PORK

SO IS THIS the way the old political world ends—with a mild bang and some whispers of protest? If that eventually proves true, give at least some credit, however unkindred as it may seem, to Lawrence MacAulay. Until recently, the bland, 56-year-old politician, despite being the nation's solicitor general, was little known outside his native Prince Edward Island—and best-known there for bringing home a steady stream of federal funding. Then came charges that MacAulay had, among other things, lobbied subordinates to award grants to a college overseen by his brother, and arranged for \$1 million to be given to a golf school run by a former aide. Last week, after the Prime Minister's ethics counselor concluded MacAulay had behaved egregiously in pressuring the grant to his brother's college, MacAulay resigned—even as he vigorously defended his behaviour, with Jean Chretien supporting him.

So far, that's just the latest version of a familiar Ottawa tale. It goes like this: an opposition party or the media reveals that large amounts of money have been given, quietly, to friends of people in high places; the Prime Minister defends the person doing so (in one case, himself); the furore extends for weeks, finally, in recent cases (but not the one involving Chretien), the minister in question exits. But this time, the story includes a postscript: Nine years after they first said they would do so, the Liberals last week followed MacAulay's resignation by promising to create an independent ethics watchdog who will report to Parliament. (The present counselor, Howard Wilson, reports to the Prime Minister—making him, in effect, an employee of the person he is sometimes called upon to judge.)

That story answers to a tacit admission that the old ways of doling out patronage aren't acceptable today. Perhaps, as opposition MPs predictably suggested, the new effort is too little, too late, and simply means the Liberals will now find new ways of achieving the same ends. Still, it's a top-powered inventory of the free-and-easy practice of patronage that has been a dominant trait in Canadian politics over the last three decades—and, like we forget, was a con-

No matter who's in power, dispensing gifts is an addictive element of political life in Ottawa, writes

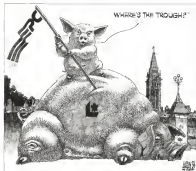
ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

tral element of politics even before we became a country. Canadian Confederation, a historical summary in the National Library of Canada, observes that in the 1830s and '40s, "In Upper Canada [as in Lower Canada], part of the population was critical of how the political elite governed the colony; matters of contention included political patronage."

Sobering despite the practice isn't new—and neither is the awareness of politicians of this sentiment, even as they ignore it. Every long-serving prime minister in recent years, starting with Pierre Trudeau through to Brian Mulroney and now Chretien, has come to office promising, in one way or another, to change things—and then cast that commitment aside once elected.

In addition to grants and subsidies, another patronage yardstick is the way political leaders handle appointments as they leave office. Right to the end, prime ministers tend to keep the power to reward the faithful in their own hands. Pierre Trudeau came to office in the 1960s talking about the need for a government filled with "new guys with new ideas," but when he announced retirement plans in 1984, he had in hand 225 Order-in-Council appointments waiting to be filled. He ensured that he made the appointments himself—or committed his successor to do so. And so, when John Diefenderfer announced in Sept. 4, 1984, election, he named, at Trudeau's behest, 17 sitting Liberals MPs to the Senate, diplomatic service and policy. The celebrated debate in which Brian Mulroney took him to task over those appointments—declaring that he "had an option...to say no" to prime minister-designate Turner in the election.

Mulroney, of course, subsequently proved



to be one of the "biggest enthusiasts in Canadian history in exerting his right to get money and jobs. Among other things, he made more than 240 appointments between his February 1993 retirement announcement and his June departure from office. The overwhelming majority had ties with the Progressive Conservatives."

But even as Cloutier denied the passage of the Mulroney years, he was, in private, ensuring that he kept personal charge of such levers of power. Before the 1993 election, adviser David Zussman pushed Cloutier to reform the system by which a PM could name up to 3,000 government jobs; instead, those appointments would, under Zussman's plan, be made by an ethics watchdog agency. But the PM rejected the idea, arguing that neutrality does not come in such packages.

And that illustrates a strongly held—though seldom publicly expressed—belief of many people in politics: that patronage is an essential part of the process. Preston Manning, one of the loudest and strongest critics of patronage (page 38), acknowledges that to some degree, his unwillingness to play by the rules of merit and privilege in Ottawa undermined his effectiveness in doing his job. Official Ottawa's bitterness over his stance deflected attention from his larger policy plans. Patronage is an integral part of political success; the ability of MPs to distribute largesse is, at a local level, the most tangible demonstration of the way in which they can improve the lives of people in their ridings. That's particularly true in small and rural communities, where things like road-paving contracts, or the placement of a military base, can have dramatic economic impact. (The note MacLachlan is cited in the rest of the country, the more he'll succeed in P.E.I.) And who gets the jobs and money, friendships, the argument goes, shouldn't be the only criteria—but a personal relationship shouldn't exclude qualified people from consideration.

Those arguments to sometimes make good sense. On October 9, 1993,

Tradema, Manning and Cloutier all promised major changes—but then, as PM, Cloutier did the job of giving

rising potential reason to appoint friends or family to key posts can even be the right thing. Shortly after becoming Prime Minister, Cloutier named his nephew, Raymond, as ambassador to Washington—and later, in 2000, as ambassador to France. Raymond Cloutier was already a well-established career diplomat, respected by his peers, who could have argued that he was being discriminated against if he hadn't received such appointments. Moreover, he was shrewd enough to acknowledge that his name, coupled with his impeccable diplomatic credentials and abilities, worked strongly in his favour by virtually every measure, he's been a great success in each posting.

Given that, you might feel sympathy for MacLachlan, who argued last week that it was unfair to penalize either his brother—who was appointed by a previous body instead of the college—or the college, by denying federal funding because of fractional bonds MacLachlan's supporters suggested that P.E.I., because of this tiny sea, is a special case, but, because almost everybody is linked through blood or friendship, that that implies that P.E.I. should be considered a sort of a strict society, except from others' rules, when it comes to patronage—which is an argument Canadians have rejected in other instances. And it raises the issue of when blood, marital or friendship ties should be a locked when handing out grants and favours.

The benevolence for most Canadians seems to be that patronage breaks down at two ways: it's bad when it's distributed to old cronies, good when it's handed out to friends. Unlike the 19th century, when it took weeks for news to reach coast-to-coast, we have much more, and much quickly about such things. And unlike much of the 20th century, when the country was smaller and more tightly knit, patronage is no longer the prequel of the upper class.

Still, even as new measures were announced, there were few apologies for the old ways. In fact, Wayne Easter, MacLachlan's replacement as senior general and P.E.I.'s new political godfather—suggested his predecessor was the victim of "a witch hunt"—which doesn't exactly suggest he'll bring a new attitude to his new role. While it may be an overall rule is politics to "keep your friends close, and your enemies closer," that attitude applies to the business of giving, and receiving, public funds and jobs.

The operating rule is that patronage is bad when distributed to others; good when handed out to friends



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Multiple Devices, Central Control

The LG Digital Home Network will let entertainment, telecommunications, air conditioning and more... individuals will be able to access the information using wireless handsets. The system's central processor (built into the LG Internet Hub) will act as a traf-

fic cop, relaying end-to-end routing communications signals throughout the house to the appropriate appliances. People living in Home Networks/Smart Homes need only make their desires known—the system will co-ordinate all resources needed to make those desires reality.

The Promise of Digital Appliances

You've probably heard news reports about refrigerators that can order groceries online or download recipes from the Internet.

The Digital Home Network incorporates this kind of functionality and a lot more besides. LG recently introduced its Internet refrigerator, equipped with an LCD screen and a built-in IP phone. Other announced breakthroughs include an Internet washing machine, an Internet air conditioner and an Internet microwave. Appliances like these allow family members to customize responses to their individual requests and that interaction will be even easier once Canada's wireless telecommunications centers come on board.

When that happens your wireless handset will become a virtual home remote control. Back at the office? You'll be able to instruct the air conditioner not to kick in at 5 p.m. (as originally planned, but to hold off till 8 p.m.). Want to start a load of laundry while you're stuck in traffic? Call your washing machine and tell it to start at 4 from your car. These are just a few of the promises in store, as technology advances, so will the possibilities.

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A TECTONIC SHIFT

There's still wiggle room, but get set for real reform, writes JULIAN BELTRAME

IN SPITE OF THE SMILES, Jean Chrétien was in a foul mood last week as he stood outside Rideau Hall with his newly named solicitor general, the Pitherses unremarkable Wayne Easter. After months of controversy over Lawrence MacAulay's gangsterman antics for dishing out pork to his job-deprived Prince Edward Island—a slice of tit to relatives and friends—Chrétien had grudgingly accepted this political ally's resignation. But in doing so he said he disagreed with ethics counsellor Howard Wilson's damning assessment of MacAulay's transgressions—his lobbying of the RCMP and Correctional Service of Canada, of which he was in charge, for \$6 million

in grants to a college run by his brother, after being warned by Wilson to steer clear. Chrétien saw no evil. He spoke none. He called MacAulay "honourable," then stated definitively "If Mr. MacAulay had not resigned, I would have defended him."

Few doubted him. After years growing dim he headed one of the most pristine governments in Canadian history. Chrétien has been swamped by ethical breaches. His own

questionable lobbying of the Business Development Bank, a Crown corporation, far a lean to a hotel in which he once held an interest, began the torrent. Then in January came Alliance-Gagliano: Gore Bon Public Works with a golden handshake—an anti-business in Democratic—after revelations he helped secure jobs and favours for friends. His successor, Don Boudreau, was next, demoted to House Leader after a conflict of interest scandal. An Tiggleson—no connection prior here, the defence minister leaving cabinet after revelations as that he gave a former girlfriend an unreturned \$26,590 contract. And finally MacAulay. "We have a government whose reputation has been so seriously tarnished that it has to account for its actions," said Tory Leader Joe Clark.

Swapping the mood at home during his last week as minister, MacAulay (left) studied (right) farmer Don McVittie.

Even Chrétien, with one eye to the history books, must have concurred. The day after dispatching his solicitor general with regrets, the Prime Minister introduced his boldest measure yet to set his government back on the straight and narrow he promised with such conviction nine years ago. The draft bill would establish an independent ethics commissioner, enforce a code of conduct for MPs and senators that would be similar to the one applying only to ministers, and institute stricter guidelines for lobbyists. It is normally the second installment of an eight-point action plan announced in May. The final points, dealing with campaign financing and public service accountability, are expected later this month.

The eye-popper in the legislation is the creation of an independent ethics commissioner to replace the current, weak ministerial position held by the well-known Wilson. The difference goes beyond semantics. The office of the commissioner will have full investigatory powers and will report to Parliament. Although appointed by cabinet, the commissioner will enjoy a large measure of independence by having a fixed, non-renewable five-year term that cannot be set aside except for cause. In essence, it's like having an auditor general of scandal agency. The Prime Minister screens the first arbiter of ministerial misconduct, but given the public's growing intolerance of ethical shenanigans, future prime ministers will be loath to dissent from any finding of serious breaches of the code.

It's been a long time coming, and it likely wouldn't have happened at all if so many mistakes had not been found wanting. Chrétien first promised an independent ethics watchdog in 1993, when his making hay of the Mulroney government's reputation for corruption helped him win the first of his three mandates. Once in office, however, Chrétien delivered a watered-down counsellor's office, appointed by him and reporting solely to him. A little as a month ago, before the MacAulay affair began gaining traction, the Prime Minister had no intention of going so far. But MacAulay, and the possibility that other ministers would soon come under intense scrutiny, made half measures untenable. Not only was Chrétien's reputation at stake, but also the ambitious legacy agenda he set out in the Throne Speech in September.

"Will the proposed measures solve the problem? Critics point out that the ethics commissioner could have been made more than Crow's work had Chrétien made his appointee subject to approval by all parties in the House. As it stands, a parliamentary committee can review the candidate, but not reject an appointment. Canadian Alliance Leader Stephen Harper also complained that while the commissioner's reports will be public, his disciplinary advice involving ministers goes only to the Prime Minister, who will have sole discretion to fire, demote or ignore the recommendation. Duff Cochrane, coordinator of the advocacy group Democracy Watch, notes that no provision is made for private citizens to lodge a complaint. And because the commissioner cannot investigate public servants, ministers could still cheat the code by setting up a system of plausible deniability where departmental subordinates are directed to do the dirty work. Cochrane says. Lastly, he asks, will the government actually do what it promises? "I still won't believe this is going to happen until I see Governor General Adrienne Clarkson's signature on it," he says.

But there is every reason to believe that the way government does now is on the verge of a tremor change. If Chrétien doesn't deliver on ethics packages—and few really believe he won't—the

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

In Atlantic Canada really the Land of the Pork Barrel? "There's a huge disjunction between that popular image and the reality of the political culture down here," insists Leonard Foyles, a political scientist at Humber College in Toronto. "The truth is governments have made a huge effort to eliminate patronage." Perhaps no one said that more in an area where government jobs and funding can still be the divider between the haves and have-nots. Witness Conservative Premier John Manion in Nova Scotia, who campaigned on a promise to decrease patronage, but just last week was pilloried by the opposition after announcing that \$11.3 million in new infrastructure money from Ottawa was going exclusively to nine "royal highways."

The area has seen a look at a lot worse—from the mass civil service firings in Prince Edward Island that happened whenever the government changed, to the plain contracts Joey Smallwood handed out to party supporters throughout his long reign in Newfoundland. In Nova Scotia, the old ways seemed to match their age: during the scandal-ridden final days of the "Teflon John" Buchanan era, which ran from 1978-1989, the Tory premier's run ended when a former deputy minister, in charge of overseeing public contracts, said that he believed Buchanan may have accepted kickbacks and was directing contracts to friends and allies. The baronist, Michael Zaretski, claimed Buchanan at one point even ordered him to buy 200 special machines that dispensed disposable toilet-seat covers, a scheme allegedly intended to line the pockets of a friend.

The RCMP investigated and cleared Buchanan of any criminal wrongdoing, although three Tories—two of them Buchanan cabinet ministers—were convicted of offences. Meanwhile, Buchanan had accepted a Senate appointment from his old friend, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. But his embarrassing excesses left at least one lasting legacy to Nova Scotia: a view that the province's patronage culture had to change, even if his successors have found that living up to that promise is another matter.

JOHN DEMISTO

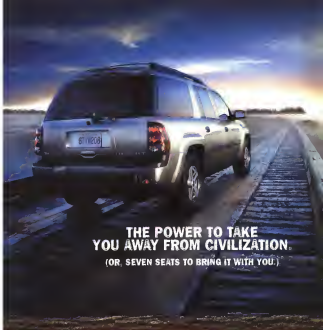


Patronage reached an apogee under Nova Scotia's "Teflon John" Buchanan.

championed since the late 1980s. He would free MPs to vote their conscience on major government bills, including budgets and other confidence measures. He would allow parliamentary committees to tackle government bills early in the legislative process—before they have been written in stone by cabinet and the bureaucracy. Furthermore, he would free the committees to choose their own chairs—currently the exclusive domain of the Prime Minister. Borrowing from the U.S. model, Martin would allow committees of backbench MPs to vet important appointments, such as Supreme Court justices, although the PM would retain the final say. The result, says Martin, would be that prime ministers would be compelled to convince their own MPs of the worthiness of their policies, rather than whip them into line. "I firmly believe that a system based on governance by persuasion rather than coercion will not only enhance respect for our institutions, it will strengthen Canadian democracy," he explained.

As with Christie's ethics package, Martin's parliamentary reform initiative won't separate all of the wiggle room from a determined and astute leader. But Donald Savoie, the University of Montreal professor who in 1999 authored the influential book *Governing Premiers: The Construction of Power in Canadian Politics*, believes Martin's proposal would go a long way to reversing the trend of PMO-centric governance that became predominant during the Trudeau era and continued with Mulroney and Chrétien. Martin consulted with Savoie before making his proposal, and Savoie says they address most of the concerns he expressed in his book. "I think this will be a significant departure," he says. "When you give backbenchers more freedom, you lose some of the levers of power that the Prime Minister exercises drift away."

Both Christie and Martin can be dismissed as idealistic reformers. But in the end, both are hoping Canadians will care more about the bus they eventually see the light, than about their motives for finally sailing. One thing is certain, however: having staked so much on their prescription for curing the ailments that afflict Canada's democracy, their failure to make good on the pledges would put an indelible stain on the legacy Christie desperately craves, while underscoring the failure Martin has been so closely pursuing. □



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TRAILBLAZER  **LIKE A ROCK**

'THERE'S A SEARCH FOR STANDARDS'

PRESTON MANNING never achieved his dream of winning Canada's conservative-minded voters, nor of becoming prime minister. But the former leader of the Reform party, deflated by the head-on collision of his successor, the Canadian Alliance, remains a respected voice in public policy—and, as one with a firm reputation for probity, on the topic of political ethics. Now a visiting professor at the University of Toronto, he has just published his memoir, *Think Big: My Adventures in Life and Democracy*. Manning, 63, met with *Maclean's* journalist.

Preston Manning on political ethics, religion, bitterness—and Paul Martin

Have you been surprised by the Liberal scandals of the last year?
Oh, no, what's happening now is just the continuation of a long, long history of low ethical standards. The ethics counsellor can come out and talk of conflict of interest for MacLachlan, but the real conflict of interest in the counsellor's office itself. The business of being appointed by, and accountable to, the Prime Minister—how can a guy who's got a conflict of interest solve conflict of interest problems? You don't have moral authority. It's going to be one of the biggest issues facing the country: how do you raise the ethical standards in politics generally?

The problem isn't just confined to the Liberals. They are the best practitioners of it, because they've had more power. But it's systemic. How does anybody get authority to rule about ethics these days? It's really a difficult question. In my time in Parliament, the two or three people who had more ethical moral authority than anybody were Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech Republic, Nelson Mandela, and Rev. Lang from Tulsa [Okla.], whose son was shot. Where all three got their moral authority was, they actually suffered some terrible things for their beliefs. But if you haven't had that, where do you get that kind of credibility?

Do you sense a groundswell for change among the public or have they just gotten used to "politics as usual"?

I think there's this demand for ethical standards in the business side, with the *Wall Street Journal*, the *WorldCom*. On the political side, every time there's one of these scandals, it means the same thing. There's a loss of moral relevance, where you lose your opinion. I have my opinion, it's coming to mind. People don't see that producing any kind of standards. Like Sept. 11—you can't just handle that by saying, "well, the terrorists have their views, and Bush has his views." There's something to be a search for standards outside of one's own opinions.

You have strong religious beliefs, which you generally didn't make a point of discussing. Do you feel they were treated and covered positively or negatively while you were in office?

I would argue that there's less freedom of speech on religious Par-

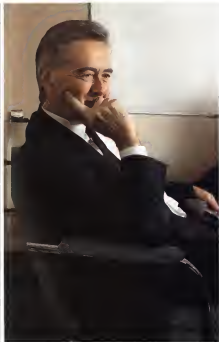
liament than on any other subject and in almost any other place. And if you ask me, here who aren't the Christian faith, "Why don't you ever talk about some of these issues from your faith perspective?" they'd just laugh. They'd say, "We see the guys that profess to be Christian, how they get treated when they express themselves, what an earth kind of treatment would we get when our views are even more at variance with both the secular orientation in society, and even at variance with the majority of religious views?" So I think Canada's got a long way to go on allowing faith perspectives to be expressed and brought to bear on public policy decisions.

Half the problem may be with the system, and the prepubescent deeply held religious values. But the other part can be faith-based people themselves, conducting themselves faithfully. So I talk a lot to faith-based groups about the need to be wise in how they present their faith, particularly in the public arena.

You've called for more scrutiny of Paul Martin. What are your specific concerns?

I want to be respectful of Paul. First of all. He accepted none of our ideas on the fiscal side than most of his colleagues—I think he actually believes in them more than I—and I give him credit for being willing to balance the budget. But I do encourage due diligence if people are interested in this democracy deficit. Paul gave a speech saying he was. But he voted a guarantee every single minor and major measure to try to democratize this House every year I was there, including the ones that came from the Liberal backbenches. So he may have had a conversion experience on the road to Saint-Denis. But I would like to see more evidence that this concern for democracy is not just a temporary thing.

If people are worried about the excessive power that's accumulated in the Prime Minister's Office, and the imbalance between



the executive and the legislature, how much worse would that imbalance be if you got someone from a business background who knows how to use the executive power in that office? If you think Parliament's irrelevant now, you ain't seen nothing yet. [laughs]

The second area is ethics. Once Christen is out of there, there's going to be more questions of the level of ethics that were proposed by the government. And some people will say, well, at least

people like MacLachlan, Bock and Martin weren't mixed up in it. But the question that's going to be asked is where were you guys when this was going on? You were there for nine years, and you saw these conflicts of interest, dozens of them, and you never said a word? People like Paul Martin may have to answer to that.

In your book, you offer some frank assessments of Stockwell Day's performance. Yet some of his former colleagues are calling you a sore loser. Are you bitter about the way you were treated by the party?

No, not really. I'm a small-d democrat. You can't put these measures, like the leadership of a party, in front of a bunch of people, and say they've got great judgment when they agree with you, and all of a sudden be bitter and mad when they don't.

I don't think it was because they had a lot of negative feelings toward me. They were desperately anxious to win, and hoped that if you had a new party, with a new leader, and particularly one with perhaps better skills in the television area, it would help. So I would disagree with that judgment, but I can't be bitter about it. That's how democracy works.

Assuming no merger of the two parties of the right, is there any realistic possibility the Liberals won't win the next election?

I guess the one wild card the opposition clings to is that something will go terribly wrong on the government side. But apart from that happening, I think it's really incumbent that the groups do get together.

Could you foresee yourself ever going back to Ottawa as an elected MP, in almost an immediate crisis event?

I've never said never, but I really have no plan in that direction. I like working on the public policy stuff, from a less partisan angle. [E]



FROM MISFIT TO MURDERER

Grappling with questions after a bloody killing spree finally ends

HE WAS THE LANKY, good-looking star football player at his local high school in Baton Rouge, La. People close to John Allen Williams will recall his ready-made and firm handshake. But that was back in the 1970s—now, family and friends of the 41-year-old who'd changed his name to John Allen Muhammad are trying to understand how he became a suspected mass murderer. If he's guilty, he's clearly a conflicted man. At one point during the three-week-long killing spree, which claimed the lives of 19 people, the perpetrating police, telling them, "I am God." Yet this same man called one person to give an interview, and unsuccessfully tried to contact another—perhaps in an attempt to confuse. And in a phone call to in-

vestigators, he pointed them toward an earlier murder, one that actually took place in Montgomery, Ala. It may have marked the real start of the rampage—and ultimately provided the lead that resulted in Muhammad's capture.

In the pantheon of American mass murderers—starting with Charles Whitman, who shot and killed 16 people in a tower in Austin, Tex.—it won't be the sheer number of deaths Muhammad will be remembered for. Instead, there is the fear he struck into the densely populated Maryland and Virginia

suburbs of Washington, the fact that he allegedly worked with a young accomplice, 17-year-old John Lee Malvo, a native of Jamaica, the cryptic messages he supposedly sent to police as the two terrorized the area, and the cold

calculatedness of the killing. And it was random, for the most part. James D. Martin, 55, the first victim, was gunned down in a parking lot on Oct. 2. Two more people were murdered the next day, including Sarah Rance, 34, as she sat on a bench outside a post office. The last victim, bus driver Conrad Johnson, 55, was killed on Oct. 22 as he stood perfectly framed for the sniper in the doorway of his bus.

In trying to understand John Allen Muhammad, law-enforcement and forensic psychologists may start with his military record. He grew up in Louisiana, serving in the National Guard there from 1978-1985. In 1985, five years after that and his first wife, Carol Williams, divorced, he converted to Islam and joined the army. He was trained as a combat engineer, but he also became so proficient at shooting in Iraq that he was made to train the army's highest marksman badge. He served in the 1991 Persian Gulf War and was decorated for his efforts. But he also showed signs of a violent temper: in one incident during his National Guard days in Louisiana, he was charged with disobeying a lawful order; in another, with punching a sergeant.

He left the army in 1994, and moved to Tacoma, Wash. There, he again served in the National Guard—somewhat, he appeared happy. But his personal life was disintegrating. Employment was a problem; he traded operating a martial arts school—eventually failed—then drifted from job to job. He was a follower of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan (he worked as a security guard during the Million Man March in Washington in 1995). His marriage to his second wife, Malinda Muhammad, failed, and they separated in 1999.

It's not yet clear when or how they met, but at some point Muhammad became involved with Umar James and her son, John Lee



Muhammad, an engineer and forensic psychologist, may start with his military record. He grew up in Louisiana, serving in the National Guard there from 1978-1985. In 1985, five years after that and his first wife, Carol Williams, divorced, he converted to Islam and joined the army. He was trained as a combat engineer, but he also became so proficient at shooting in Iraq that he was made to train the army's highest marksman badge. He served in the 1991 Persian Gulf War and was decorated for his efforts. But he also showed signs of a violent temper: in one incident during his National Guard days in Louisiana, he was charged with disobeying a lawful order; in another, with punching a sergeant.

Malvo, from Jamaica and illegally in the U.S. In 1997 Muhammad enrolled the boy, then 12, in his martial arts school. During the same period Malvo enrolled in a high school in nearby Beltsville. Without an official transcript, however, school officials became suspicious. Malvo was fingerprinted—an indelible mark that would eventually prove available to police.

Muhammad and Malvo have lived together in a rented duplex in a working-class section of Tacoma, where neighbors said they held target practice sessions, firing a rifle at a tree stump. They surfaced in Baton Rouge last July, dropping in on some of Muhammad's relatives. On Sept. 10 they paid \$250 for the old Chevy Caprice in Threemile, N.J. At some point they apparently stopped in Montgomery, Ala.—last week police there laid charges against the pair for the Sept. 21 killing of a woman during a liquor-store robbery. And

then they headed north to the Washington area, where, police allege, they prepared for their murder spree. The back seat of the Caprice was modified to fold down flat, giving full access to the trunk. There, police say, they had a special platform to support a tripod for a Bushmaster rifle. Cruise gun ports drilled into the rear of the car were just large enough to slip through, fit a target in the crosshairs, and fire.

As the snipers went about their deadly business, mothers changed the pattern of their lives. Dozens of schools locked down; people were so frightened, they stopped going shopping. Those who did often ran in groups from parking lots to mall entrances. Some paid others to take their cars to the gas station. But the killers may have started to unravel. On Oct. 17, police say, Muhammad apparently called their hotline, identifying himself as the sniper. "I am God," he declared. When the FBI inquired on the other end did not seem to be suitably impressed, Muhammad threatened, "Don't you know who you're dealing with? Check out the murder-robbery in Montgomery if you don't believe me."

The snipers would soon make contact with police again. Two days later, after a man was shot in the chest as he left a restaurant in Ashland, Va., a long, handwritten letter, wrapped in plastic and mailed to a tree, was left behind. The letter threatened the lives of children and demanded a \$50-million payment. But it featured unusual sentence structure and details. On the first page, it said: "For you Mr. Police: Call me God." Beneath that someone had drawn a line of stars. On another page was the line: "I'll give you our word, that is what this place. Word is bond." An FBI analyst quickly concluded that the phrasing and marks could have been a Jamaican connection—a Jamaican head called Five Stars has a song containing the line "word is bond."

Chances—what to do with them? Because of the murder had taken place in Montgomery County, Md., task force detectives first thought that was the reference in the first phone call. But then came a phone call to a Catholic priest in Ashland, Va., clamping the location as Montgomery, Ala. A check with the Alabama State Police revealed that on Sept. 21, two women were closing up a liquor store in Montgomery when a young black man brazenly held them up and then shot them both. One

For three weeks millions of people lived in fear. Dozens of schools were locked down, and local residents were afraid to shop.

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Crime | >

died on the spot, the other survived. A police officer chased the man, he couldn't catch him, but was able to retrieve a car. The gunman dropped. It advised guns—and one page on a fingerprint that, investigators discovered, belonged to a mysterious Jamaican teenager named John Lee Malvo.

An FBI team swooped down on Baltimore, where they learned about the Malvo-Muhammad connection. Further investigation revealed that Muhammad had recently been given temporary New Jersey license plates for a Chevy Caprice. On Oct. 23, police put out an APB for the men and the car. Less than three hours later, the vehicle was spotted in a rest area on Interstate 70 in Maryland. A truck driver blocked the entrance until a \$500 worth of police arrested the two, who had been sleeping. Ad hoc news was showed that none of the victims had been shot with the Bushmaster rifle that was found in the car.

Some critics suggest that police might well have caught the sniper sooner if they had not been blinded by erroneous evidence—including the almost ubiquitous reports of a white van at the scene of the shoot ings. There was also the expert opinion that proved totally wrong: profiles had persuaded investigators they were looking for one man, a white loner in his early 20s, probably with a crewcut. And one of the most troubling variables of all surfaced in the Oct. 3 shootings, a witness saw a Caprice leaving the scene. On Oct. 8, police approached a Caprice on a Baltimore street and found Muhammad sleeping in the vehicle. They told him to move.

With Muhammad and Malvo now under arrest, experts continue to struggle with the motivation behind the killings. Some point to Muhammad's military training, saying it may have desensitized him, a member of other mass murderers in the U.S., including Whitman, were veterans. Others raise the possibility that Muhammad could suffer from Gulf War syndrome, which can lead to violent outbursts. But for the people who lived in fear of a sniper's bullet for three weeks, those are secondary issues. "I'm so relieved not to feel like a target anymore," said Margaret Minchell, 32, in Maryland. She celebrated the arrests by going shopping—for Halloween.

With William Lawther in Washington



EXECUTIVE TRAVELLER: Wishing You Were Here

Business travel is gradually shaking out the economic and security swells that plagued it down in the past year but the light to loosen up travel budgets and build — or rebuild — business continues unabated. What remains for the frequent business traveller is to find the right mix of competition and consistent effort to keep the value of the trip high and the cost low.

AIRLINES: Still to go

The choices now available to air travellers in Canada hardly seem possible considering the demise of several like Canadian, Royal and Canada 3000 in recent years.

New airlines have taken to the air like ducks from a creekside marsh. They're still small in terms of market share but the competition is intense, especially at the low-price end of the air travel spectrum. WestJet Airlines — a Calgary-based discounter that has built its reputation on secondary and tertiary routes since its 1996 launch, added Toronto routes to Calgary and Edmonton this year—and scored a 44% increase in profitability for the quarter ended July 31, its 22nd consecutive profitable quarter. Montreal-based Jetair Corp., launched in June, is targeting business firms between the major Canadian cities with exceptional discount fares and recorded an 84% load factor in August.

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The corporate market is no longer willing to be discriminated against in pricing

Out of Halifax, CanJet Airlines also launched in June, offering discount fares in eastern and central Canada. It's the first scheduled carrier to attempt this strategy in the east. Not to be outdone, Air Canada has replied with its discount-based airline, Tango, serving 15 cities, and Zip Air, a discount brand born in September, which serves Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary and Winnipeg.

"The marketplace allowing adds up to business passenger savings and should lead to better service and value for the travelling dollar. The corporate market is no longer willing to be discriminated against in pricing," says Michel Leblanc, CEO at Jetgo. "People now feel smart instead of cheap using a discount carrier."

Jetgo offers corporate customers bulk tickets in lots of 50, 300 or 1,000 on a given route at discounts of 50% to 70% off scheduled airline fares and about 25% off Jetgo fares. For example, each ticket between Montreal and Toronto works out to \$144, \$134 or \$124, respectively, versus the regular Jetgo fare of \$194. Booked flights can be changed without penalty.

"For us, it creates a loyalty program," says Leblanc, formerly CEO at Royal Airline, "and what it gives the corporation is a lower rate and predictable cost."

For some flights, Jetgo also offers a "Pair-A-Pair" discount for travellers who book two seats, and the airline may soon extend the offer to every flight. Typically, the discounts cut \$10 to \$30 off a one-way fare.

But Leblanc believes discount air travel is about to enter a second phase. "No-bills is evolving as a value-added product," he says, pointing to the success of New

York-based JetBlue, the profitable low-fare airline that now offers all-leather seats and free live satellite television at each seat. Jetgo is moving similarly, increasing its baggage allowance to 32 kilograms from 20 kilograms and adding lay-pay truck and bus service, which Leblanc feels could eventually add to operating margins.

CanJet, a division of UMP Group Ltd., used its early months to build regional loyalty with low-cost fares between Halifax, Moncton, St. John's, Nfld., Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. Its fall seat sale offered rare bargains for customers, such as the \$99 one-way fares between Halifax and St. John's and \$109 for Halifax-Toronto. "We aim to be the low-price carrier," says marketing manager Doug Newson.

The pursuit of the business market is now beginning as the airline adjusts its fall schedule. It added both morning and evening non-stop flights in both directions between Halifax and Toronto, and Newson is busy exploring corporate arrangements. "We're always looking to change our scheduling to meet the needs of business travellers, although many rely on frequency and [departure] times to make their decisions," he says. "But we aim to tailor our fares and schedules to meet their needs."

The discount sector's pioneer, WestJet, is not following suit. WestJet doesn't try to target corporate business except by keeping its fares 30% to 40% below Air Canada's. "We're a low-cost carrier with no bells and whistles," says Bill Lamberton, vice-president of marketing. But without WestJet targeting them directly, Lamberton says business travellers use WestJet as a matter of course simply because the airline's success has brought the growth in routes and frequency that businesses need. WestJet now serves 22 cities. Low prices simply make it an obvious buy.

Lamberton says WestJet expected imitators as a

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In international business class, people are willing to pay if the service matches the payment.

most of its total aircraft success. The response strategy has always been to stimulate new travelers, "to pull them . . . out of trucks and cars, planes and offices." At the same time, WestJet must be true to its low cost model by getting more customers to book online, buying newer airplanes to reduce fuel and maintenance charges, and concentrating on quick turnarounds of aircraft. Its ninth Boeing 737-700 is about to arrive as it slowly retires its 23 Boeing 737-350s. Turnarounds now stand at about 30 minutes versus an industry standard of 45 minutes. "We will be the fare leaders," says Lambertson. "But we will do it at the lowest cost."

Air Canada, of course, is the competitor to beat. Its discount Tango brand already serves 15 Canadian cities with no-frills service. Air Canada Jazz has amalgamated regional feeder airlines into a low-cost network with 80 destinations and Zip Air now covers short to medium hauls in the West. While there are no lounges or business cabins, passengers can buy snacks, drinks and entertainment handsets. As of December, Tango will also fly from Montreal, Ottawa and Quebec City to destinations in Florida, as first U.S. route.

There is a greater propensity today for business travelers to look for the best value," says Marc Rosenberg, vice-president of sales and product distribution, accounting for the low-price competition especially among small businesses and entrepreneurs. But, he says, full fare airlines with extensive schedules are still the choice for larger businesses with many employees flying to numerous destinations, as well as for interna-

International business fares Significantly, international business has sustained Air Canada while business travel in general lagged in the past year.

That's a good reason why Air Canada is pushing its international business class service considerably upscale, first on its European routes and for Asian destinations at year-end. Gone are meat trolleys, mass service and clatter. Meals of signature Canadian dishes are now prepared in the galley and served, restaurant-style, individually or in tiny passenger request. Exclusive flatware and new linens and colours add to the ambience, with designer Italian coffee pots providing the finishing touch. Not to forget comfort and functionality: seat pitch has increased to 60 inches minimum, and power ports are improved in number and accessibility.

In the early stages of the changeover before-and-after surveys show that customer satisfaction is "cloudy at best", says Steven Grostia, director of product design and management. "In international business class people are willing to pay if service matches the payment."

HOTELS: *On The Upswing*

With a keen eye on their wallets, business travellers are back in Canadian hotels. While not anywhere near the numbers of the peak in 2000, the demand for rooms has at least recovered from the drop-off following the terrorist attacks in the fall of 2001.

Toronto-based hospitality industry consulting firm Parnell Kerr Forster (PKF) forecasts an occupancy rate of 63% for 2002 and 2003, compared with 62% in 2001 and 65% in 2000. Average daily rates will rise by 2.5% this year, the firm says, but by only 1% over pre-Sept. 11 rates.

Hotel markets differ across the country. Edgewater hotels, for instance, are seeing a 70% occupancy rate.

has year, up from 65% in 2000 and 67% in 2001. Montreal weighs in with 70% occupancy and a forecast of 71% next year, up from 68% in 2001. But Toronto continues to weather a weaker hotel market, with 65% occupancy this year and a 63% forecast for 2003. Vancouver is also weak with 61% occupancy and a downward trend.

In addition, higher-end hotels felt the brunt of the cutback of business travel. As a group, full-service hotel occupancy rates are projected at 66% for this year and next, down from 68% in 2000. Meanwhile, budget hotels

are experiencing a quicker recovery as business travellers resume their travel schedules with tighter purse strings. At limited-service hotels, occupancy rates dropped only 1% in 2001 versus 2000. Now, occupancy rates are expected to return to pre-2001 levels in 2002 and 2003.

Rewarding the faithful

As business travel ramps up to previous levels and beyond, hoteliers are recognizing the opportunities to rebuild ties with some of the best packages of service



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value and customer incentives that business travelers have ever seen.

Most are basking in their loyalty programs as a first and obvious prize to their best customers. At Six Continents Hotels, owner of the Holiday Inn, Crowne Plaza and Inter-Continental chains, attention focused on its all-brand Priority Club Rewards program. "After Sept. 11, we analyzed where our business was coming from," says Patrick Field, regional vice-president for Canadian sales and marketing, "and business travellers were our best source."

By April 2002, Six Continents relaunched Priority Club with lower thresholds for Elite and Gold status, included guaranteed room availability for Platinum members and introduced free point transfers between members and the ability to purchase up to 6,000 points in a rolling 12-month period. Business guests at the upscale Cowiye Plaza are also enticed with a choice of a free breakfast, a weekend night at a 50% discount, bonus Priority Club or Accorion points or a room upgrade.

The Meridian hotel chain is also ramping up its rewards for its best customers. Introducing its worldwide Moments loyalty program in the past year, Sign-up is free and guests earn points not just on the room rate but also on other spending within the hotel. At current redemption rates, spending \$1,000 at a Meridian hotel earns enough points for a free stay at one of the 150 hotels in the chain, while \$1,200 in spending is enough to earn a room upgrade. As an added guest benefit, Toronto's exclusive Le Royal Meridian King Edward has

joined forces with the CIBC Aerogold ADVANTAGE Visa card program to offer three Aeroplan miles for every \$2 spent on the card – and the rate doubles when the card is used in the hotel's restaurants or bars.

Mid-range hotels, in particular, appear poised to benefit as many previously high-end business travellers turn to the mid-range with reduced budgets and more modest expectations. Best Western, a 4,000-strong chain of independent hotels, had introduced its global Best Requests upgrades almost a year prior to Sept. 11 with the intention of bringing more consistency to its chain-wide services. Best Western rooms now include a list of 18 services and amenities, including data jacks, coffee and tea makers, irons, hair dryers and free local calls of up to 30 minutes.

The import costs are paying off measurably. "Now, in new guests come in who previously used higher-priced hotels. They are seeing that the value is not just in the food anymore," says Neil Homansky, Best Western's Canadian marketing director. Recognizing its advantage, the chain is now pursuing business travelers more aggressively with special Business Plus rooms in 800 of its hotels. These rooms include a work desk, task lighting, ergonomic chair, newspaper and breakfast delivered to the room. The Gold Crown Club International loyalty program was also upgraded in February to offer a free room-night voucher for loyalty points earned. Vouchers can be purchased on the Web and cost as little as 800 points, which can be accumulated in about four stays.

Radiation Hotels & Resorts took a similar tack by building up its loyalty rewards. From Oct. 15 to March 30, members of its Radiasion Gold Rewards program can collect bonus Aeroplan points in addition to their gold points. After registering on-line, those who stay at Radiasion five times in this period earn 5,000 bonus miles—equivalent to the points earned for two or three flights. Radiasion has

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Benefits for booking agents

Many hotel chains, including Six Continents, Meridian and Carlson Hotels Worldwide, owner of the Radisson hotel brand, find it's also wise not to forget those who actually book the stays. Carlson's "Look to Book" program for travel agents is the most successful of its kind with 112,000 travel agents—more than one-quarter of the world's total—enrolled. They get three points per dollar booked; an automatic message goes out to any non-member agent who books a Carlson hotel guest, informing them of the points they could have earned and inviting them to register. Usually, they do. "Most points are redeemed for airline tickets and stays at our hotels," says Brian Stage, executive vice president in charge of sales and reservation services at Carlson Hotels. "which is great."

Meridian launched its travel-agent reward program, "Le Grand Book", at the beginning of 2002. For bookings in Meridian hotels, the chain offers an extra 4% on commissions, splitting the bonus between the agency and the agent.

Six Continents runs a similar Miles for Meetings program for meeting planners—a strategic move considering that its Holiday Inns offer more meeting rooms than any other hotel chain. Planners get reward bonus points—either Priority Club or airline miles in their choice of more than 30 frequent flyer plans—for making a booking.

Raising the bar

Rewarding best customers and booking agents is clearly good policy, but it's not surprising that some chains are beginning to improve amenities as well. The 200 Sheraton hotels have introduced a "service promise" that will compensate guests who complain. In an unusual schedule of compensation, Sheraton pledges discounts, loyalty points, gift certificates or free amenities for inconveniences such as slow service or check-in, missing shampoo, bottled wake-up calls or lumpy beds.

Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide Inc., owner of the Sheraton brand, backed up the pledge with a US\$1-billion investment in upgrades over the last four years—\$280 million in Canada—including new "Sweet Sleeper" beds featuring top-line mattresses, down pillows and richly colored duvets. Staff were also treated to 10 to 15 hours each of dedicated service training. "With a service promise, our aim was consistency," says Stephen Foster, Starwood's senior vice-president of operations, "and we couldn't guarantee consistency without the same bed everywhere. Now, we can say, 'If you're not satisfied, we'll make you satisfied or give you something in return.'"

At Le Royal Meridien King Edward in Toronto, the focus of improvements is directly on its bread-and-butter business customers, many of whom choose the King Edward for its location close to the central business district. The refurbished 2,600 sq. ft. lounge for the three Royal Club floors is the venue for complimentary buffet breakfast, evening cocktails and high-speed Internet connections. Rooms include free local calls, access to a boardroom for up to three hours and a limousine drop-off to downtown morning appointments.

At about \$100 per night in regular room rates, many business visitors find good value in the Royal Club

benefits, says general manager Tony Cousins. "They are so stretched that anything we can do to make their day easier is appreciated. They are still looking for service and value, but they're also looking for efficiency."

Internet fares for business

Like hoteliers, travel agencies are similarly under pressure to improve service and reduce the costs of corporate travel. Internet bookings typify that hunt for value, says Bill McLean, vice-president of client services for

Carlson Wagonlit. "Internet faring is probably the hottest topic in executive travel right now."

McLean says corporate clients are pressing agencies to go beyond their computer reservation systems and obtain access to low cost Web fares. This introduces both the technical problem of checking thousands of travel sites in seconds and the problem of managing the use of these discounts so they don't turn into losses. "Companies can save 20% or 30%," says McLean, "but these are highly restrictive fares, where you use them or lose them, so the corporation has to decide how best to utilize them."

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The good news is that airports and hotels account for only one-half of laptop thefts.

Carlson Wagonlit partnered with SeletStep, a California-based travel industry software specialist that gave the agency systems capable of checking 150 sites in five seconds. After six months of beta testing, it was launched agency wide in September. Many clients also want to book their own travel using electronic self-booking tools, which are Web-based systems that let corporate users book point-to-point trips without losing the ability to control and track employee travel. Carlson, for instance, now works with third-party vendors and also offers its proprietary Horizon booking tool.

Says McLean: "From a customer perspective this ultimately means that corporate clients can have a relationship with our agency—managing multiple travellers, multiple situations—and still have savings off the Web."

Laptop Lockup

If you're worried about losing your laptop while traveling, there's good news and bad news. The good news is that airports and hotels account for only one-half of laptop thefts. You have an equal threat of theft from within your company. The bad news is that, well, one-half of thefts occur at airports and hotels.

If your travel takes you to workplaces where you may have to leave your notebook for periods of time, cable locks attach to a small hole on the notebook case and loop around something permanent like a pipe or wall support. Some come with motion sensors and alarms.

But the information on your laptop is probably more

valuable than the hardware itself. That's why all computers should also contain some form of security software, depending on who uses them. Senior executives and design engineers probably need something more than someone carrying price lists. Experience shows that if security systems are too complex for the information—at least in the perception of the owner—they will not be used.

User authentication systems make sure it's actually you who is logging on. If you use passwords, change them periodically. Fujitsu came up with a system whereby users enter a five-digit push-button code to turn the system on. Encryption software is another form of user authentication; you need the decryption key to read e-mail and files.

The latest authentication technologies use smart cards containing coded passwords or biometrics. The Compaq PC Card Biometrics II Device matches the user's fingerprints to master copies stored on a PC card. While biometrics get plenty of press now, it's still an expensive option.

Some laptop users are adding another layer of protection: monitoring and tracing software. When connected to the Internet, these systems send periodic locator signals to a recovery service offered by the vendor. You simply notify the vendor of a lost or stolen laptop, and it provides you with the latest IP address and phone number from which it was used. The asset tracking and theft recovery system from Absolute Software Corp. of Vancouver can be factory-installed on Dell computers.

Other options include wipe disk programs that erase the hard drive if an unauthorized user tries to hack into the system. Another uses wireless technology to do the same thing.

Security measures are important, but remember the low-tech ones as well. Don't keep important data on your hard drive. Back up files on your corporate network or on a delete each evening while you're away and then delete what you don't actually need to carry with you. ■■■

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Column | PETER C. NEWMAN



STANDING UP TO GEORGE

Continental Europe is planning a superstate that could challenge U.S. power

UNINTENDED EFFECTS are always the most difficult to control. President George W. Bush's obsession with declaring war on Iraq has emboldened Europe's leaders, something else could, to launch the process of creating a continental superstate that will rival the United States.

In Brussels, where the new political union is being forged, there is already serious debate not only about its name, which could be the United States of Europe, or simply Europe, but how it would change the balance of world power. The idea has moved well beyond theory. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a former president of France, now heads the European Council's constitutional convention which is attempting to turn the concept into reality. The proposed new political union, which might include more than two dozen of the nations of continental Europe, would elect its own, high-profile president and foreign minister. Envoys would speak for the only international coalition that could stand up to America's hegemony. They would meet with their Washington counterparts as equals.

If all this sounds vaguely utopian, it probably is. And yet Cambridge University law professor Alan Dashwood has already drawn up a draft constitution for the new continent spanning alliance. Dashwood reflects widespread public thinking when he concludes that "Europe should develop as a union of sovereign states." The process seems much less unlikely when you consider how far the movement for European union has already come. Starting from its early post-war beginnings as the European Coal and Steel Community, which included only six countries and merely brought together a shared market in these two commodities, the Continent has evolved through the European Economic Community, better known as the common market, then the European Community, and now the European Union. Each step required no more than the previous one.

No one could have predicted that those countries, which invented automobiles,

would have been willing to give up their historical currencies, thus surrendering control of their individual monetary and fiscal policies. Yet that has happened, and the possibility of their political union is no more far-fetched.

The political will is suddenly there, and it is Bush's unilateral anti-Iraq power play that gave what may be an unseemable impetus to the idea. Most Europeans are not anti-American, it is neither do they believe that the United States should exercise a monopoly over the world's future. This means restricting the Pentagon's military buildup and exercising more influence over the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, all of which tend to enforce Washington's agenda. Neither do Europeans want British Prime Minister Tony Blair to appear to be speaking for them.

Uncase over Afghanistan has given way to profound worry over Iraq. Saddam Hussein has no friends in Europe, but neither has George W. Bush, outside of Blair. American objections to every multilateral initiative, from Kyoto to the establishment of an International Criminal Court, have paved their way, and is now raising them to action. (As it is, Europe's gross domestic product rivals the 100 billion U.S. economy, which may be huge, but amounts to less than 30 per cent of world production.)

This increasingly militant mood compels European observers like Bernard Cassin, director-general of the prestigious Paris monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*, who recently called Bush "an unstable—a dangerous individual who has turned the United

States into a rogue state." This may sound outlandish, but it's not far removed from mainstream opinion. After WWII, the daily *Le Monde*, a leftist publication, declared on its front page: "We are all Americans now."

German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's re-election on the basis of his opposition to America's policy on Iraq reflects widespread feelings. Most European politicians could now mandate on similar platforms.

Europeans are preoccupied with the concept of self-power. Their own bloody history teaches them that was never produce security. The multilateral approach, ridiculed and rejected by the Bush White House, has found a home not only in Europe but in Canada. Ottawa's current position on Iraq is closer to Brussels' than Washington's.

At the same time, it is easy to forget that Europe is not a disconnected bystander. North American oil supplies would hardly be diminished by an Iraq war. One-third of Europe's fuel supplies come from the Middle East, and one-quarter of that from Iraq. And it's Europe that plays a colossal host to most refugees from Middle Eastern conflicts.

Sadly, the Continent's anti-Bush sentiment is exacerbated by an almost unanimous misstatement of his support for Israel. The cause of Palestinian independence has gathered impressive support, strengthened by the vision in the Jewish state's perceived intransigence. The Europeans want formal settlements for all conflicts, including the Middle East, to be based on rule-based international order, suitable to the postmodern world. They believe that the United States under present leadership is incapable of providing such a leading influence, and that they must jumpstart the gap. All along they have no magic answers, anti-Europeanism is not what Bush opened-ended doctrine of pre-emption against suspected terrorist states, with his inner circle alone deciding who merits obliteration, is too risky—even if some form of United Nations sanction is eventually achieved.

A coherent European system of collective decision making, with the Continent speaking in one voice, is emerging as the forecast opens. A profound revolution of political will and geographical change is at work, and nothing will derail it. Europe's contours are on the brink of historic transformation. ■

Peter C. Newman's column appears monthly. pnewman@rogers.com

Most Europeans are not anti-American, but neither do they believe in a U.S. monopoly over the world's future

THE LAST DAYS OF PAUL WELLSTONE

JONATHAN GATEHOUSE interviews the anti-war senator—just before his death



With the American economy sputtering, and the country on the verge of war with Iraq, the battle for political control of the U.S. House and Senate has taken on a special urgency this fall. Mid-term elections are scheduled Nov. 5, and for the past several weeks Democrats and Republicans have been duking it out in a number of bitter contests. One of the closest races is in Minnesota, where Senator Paul Wellstone, a liberal, anti-war Democrat, faced a stiff Republican challenge. *Minneapolis's* National Correspondent Jonathan Gatehouse traveled to Minneapolis last week to interview Wellstone—three days before the senator, his wife Sheila, daughter Maria, three staffers, and two pilots died in a small plane crash. His report on the senator's last days:

The Minnesota campaigning path with Sheila, opposed the President's Iraq policy

THE DILAPIDATED bright green school bus that Paul Wellstone used to travel between campaign stops was meant to send a message to voters. It practically screamed fragility, environmental consciousness, man-of-the-people. In 1990, it was one of the most effective props of his shooing run for the Senate—a Democratic David versus Republicans Goliath theater that propelled a small-town activist and college professor to Washington's halls of power. Twelve years later, Wellstone, 54, with almost \$550 million in campaign funds from forty coffers and political action committees, was more cautious about playing the little guy card. But the

bus—and the values it proclaimed—continued to carry him in triumph for a third term.

Rumors between Zumbrota and Rochester on a cold, grey October afternoon, Wellstone seemed to be a little tired of the questions that had dogged him throughout the campaign. A half-eaten piece of chow mein on the table in front of him, surrounded by framed photos of his political allies—Jack and Robby Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr.—he still hardly wrote for the end of my sentences before unleashing his rebuttals in torrents.

A dove and unapologetic left winger in an increasingly hawkish and conservative Washington, Wellstone was facing a stiff challenge from Republicans. In 1990, he vowed that he would only serve two years



The former States radical, with Sheila and daughter Maria, was a noted fashion victim

scams of elected, and here he was breaking his promise. But the conventional wisdom was that he'd made an unlikely bargain: he almost impossible early battle by voting with his conscience. In early October, Wellstone was the only senator facing a down-election race who opposed a resolution authorizing the President to take unilateral action against Saddam Hussein. His opponent, Norm Coleman, the former mayor of Minnesota's capital, St. Paul, pointed out as a proof that Wellstone—long labeled the first States radical in the Senate—was ill suited for a postscript. "I would. The pundits and political strategists plect on."

"I don't know," Wellstone snipped when the subject was broached. "I do think that in the last year this administration has been too unilateral—rejecting the Kyoto accord, turning our back on human rights legislation. There's been a lot of go-it-alone attitude and I think that's a mistake. I think that there's reasons for it. I think there will be more of it in our own country. So, we need the international community, we need to be working with lots of other countries, we need to have assets on the ground in the ground in all parts of the world to head this off."

It mentioned a suit carried by a local newspaper, that Wellstone had voted against Bush more than any other senator in 2001—opposing 41 per cent of White House initiatives in a political system where representatives generally get their own legislative power by herding track and holding coffins. "Listen, if I was to try and keep up with these bogus statistics," Wellstone

started, until he thought better of it and changed tact. "It depends on the issue. Everything dealing with the war against terrorism, everything dealing with support for military for the past two years, given what we're going through, I support," he said. "When I differ on the economy, or education, or health care, the environment."

The interview ended. He turned his attention to the other journalists on board, a *Washington Post* reporter, who asked him to take photos for a weekly paper. The senator made sure the girls a clear of themselves and all the answers he needed. Later, when his accompanying staff—including Tim Lape, one of those killed in the crash—found out she was in danger of being late for a piano class she was teaching, they moved heaven and earth to get her back home. It was vintage Paul Wellstone. Combative, sometimes prickly, passionate, sensitive to details.

Wellstone's chartered twin engine King Air plane went down Oct. 25, outside Duluth, Minn., about 280 km north of Minneapolis. The senator, his family and staff were trapped.

The tragic plane crash threw the political situation into chaos as the Republicans fought to regain control of the Senate

clinging to avoid the favor of the father of a Minnesota state legislator. The weather was poor and speculation is circling around a possible tie-up on the plane's wings.

ANGER OVER THE ECONOMY, big government and corporate greed are what propelled Wellstone to the Senate during his first campaign. The 54-year-old son of Russian immigrants was perhaps the closest thing American politics had to the left idealist. Vice President Al Gore. (Both the character and the real politician were small town college professors, and both grappled with the effects of multiple sclerosis.) In a world of increasingly blind and corporatized politicians, he stood out for both his willingness to speak his mind and his disdain for image. On the September issue of *Washingtonian* Magazine, Capitol Hill staffers word him Congress's number one fashion victim.)

Mid-term elections have traditionally been a wash for the party occupying the White House, but this time Republicans have high hopes of capturing their president's second post-Sept. 11 approval ratings into tangible gains. Recapturing control of the Senate—the Democrats currently enjoy a one-seat majority—would allow the GOP to set and control the legislative agenda for the next two years, a big leg up on the 2004 race for the White House. Minnesota, long considered one of the country's most liberal states, shocked political junkies four years ago by electing Jesse Ventura, a libertarian former pro wrestler, as its governor. Republicans were hoping their Senate candidate, Coleman, a Democrat who crossed over in 1996, and who had publicly said Bush advise Karl Rove, would offer them a similarly startling upset.

Tell, didn't work, though. Coleman is the anti-thesis of Wellstone. In an interview at a St. Paul restaurant early last week, he delivered perfect sound bites while simultaneously shilling brands and kissing babies. The Republican message to Minnesota voters was distilled to nine questions of Wellstone's patriotism in a once a national news. "The debate on Iraq wasn't whether we should act unilaterally," said Coleman. "The President, myself and many others have said we're going to act unilaterally. But how do you build a national coalition? You do it from strength. Paul Wellstone would do a fine job of that. He'd sit back and let the UN decide whether something



What should we do when our neighbour goes to war?

- ☐ Offer our best soldiers
- ☐ Stand firmly by UN resolutions
- ☐ Send out an army of diplomats
- ☐ Sit on the fence

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should be done. That's bad pedagogy."

Before the accident, the two parties had already spent a near record US\$35 million, being and doing for the rest. President Bush travelled to Minnesota to swing for Coleman as did Rudy Giuliani, the former mayor of New York and the closest thing the Republicans have to a saint. Radio and television airwaves were saturated with attack ads. "You have a bad case of Whiffenries," a series voice informed a man who complained about "bad case" that has plagued him for the last 12 years. An ancient picture of the senator, wearing a cardstock and sporting a beard that made him look like Lenin, appeared on every Republican mailing and commercial. On the other side, a Democratic ad featured a sympathetic granny questioning her fears that Coleman would not social security payments, and grainy video of the former mayor's 1996 endorsement of his opponent and Bill Clinton played in almost a loop on local channels.

But the growing fear for Republicans was that they might have blown their chance for a Senate breakthrough by overplaying the Iraq card. The latest opinion polls showed Wellstone opening up a four-to-six point lead after months of deadlock. Washington's indecision and tough talk had apparently failed to convince Americans that Saddam Hussein is their most pressing problem. A recent national survey found that 41 per cent say the sluggish economy is the biggest issue in this election, compared to 34 per cent who cite war with Iraq. And while 66 per cent agreed that Saddam poses an "imminent threat," only 34 per cent think ousting him should be the most important priority in the war on terror. "This administration doesn't realize where the majority of Americans stand," said Lawrence Jacobs, a political science professor at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. "The concerns about terrorism and 9/11 are still there—people feel horrible. But what they don't see is that going to war unilaterally with Iraq is going to solve those problems."

Last week, at an all-candidates debate in St. Cloud—a Lake Wabigoon-area town in central Minnesota where the well-mannered locals couldn't find an angrier stronger than "goat dung" to describe the 28-year-old early snow blundering the grand-Iraq didn't even come up. "The only people talking about Iraq are the CNN junkies," said Matt Zerler, a goateed, 23-year-old civi-

"In the last year this administration has been too unilateral. There's been a go-at-it-alone attitude and I think that's a mistake."

l environmental studies student on the fringes of a subsequent Wellstone rally at St. Cloud State. "People don't care. It's pretty removed from us. We're more concerned about our grades and how to pay for tuition."

The senators were similar farther to the south in Carson Falls. Standing hunched against the cold at a high school football playoff game, Steve Rodete ranted through a list of complaints about the government. "My issues are universal: the fire and waste in government, and health care," said the kitchen renegade. The cost of medical insurance for his three-member family now runs second only to the mortgage as a monthly expense. He wasn't thrilled about Wellstone's position on Iraq, but it was hardly his biggest fear about the Democrats.

At week's end it wasn't yet clear what the Democrats would do after the tragic loss of their candidate. Minnesota law allows the party to replace Wellstone on the ballot, and speculation was rife that officials would try to draft former vice president Walter Mondale, now 74. The situation is reminiscent of what happened in Missouri two years ago when Gov. Mel Carnahan, a candidate for the Senate, was killed in a plane crash three weeks before Election Day. His name remained on the ballot, and respectful voters awarded him a posthumous victory. His widow, Jean, was appointed to her late husband's seat and is now seeking re-election.

In a country that remains as politically polarized as it was in the last presidential election, a similar wave of public sympathy in Minnesota could well frustrate Republican efforts to gain control of the Senate. Twelve years ago, on the eve of the Persian Gulf conflict, Wellstone, the then newly-elected senator for Minnesota, was almost universally pilloried for staging an anti-war news conference in front of Washington's Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Now, it appears his final act of political courage will stand as his lasting memorial.

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THE MID-TERM MARKET

Results of next week's U.S. elections may hinge on how Wall Street's doing

AS IF THE U.S. STOCK MARKET didn't have enough to worry about, here come the U.S. mid-term elections on Nov. 5. The last time Americans went to the polls, they produced what was, for the stock market and the nation, a terrible outcome: the closest thing to a total bear, nationwide—not just in the ill-famed housing and program (and fiasco) in Florida.

Across the land, men were sorted by hundreds of votes. The Senate elected Republicans, but only by Vice Presidents. Cheney's unbreasting vote, setting the stage for liberal Warrent Republican Jim Jeffords' defection to SR as an independent, supporting the Democrats and ending their control.

On the basis of past real-terms, the Democrats this time had expected to gain a stronger majority in the Senate and control of the House of Representatives, now run mostly by Republican hunch, along with a majority of the government's top jobs. So confident of control were House Democrats that some members of its leadership who'd been expected to run for Senate seats decided to stick with their safe seats and seniority. They confidently expected to be committing themselves next year.

They had been nervous for a while last fall, as an unexpectedly robust economic recovery followed 9/11. By spring, that economic pep had declined to languidness and hairlessness, and the Democrats' expectations rose as the economy didn't. The biggest economy-related news stories were of crime in the streets and crime in the sun, just the kind of plot lines for a Democratic sweep that could have been scripted on *Gun* by the Hollywood liberals of *The West Wing*.

But the voters surprised both the Democrats and the pundits by refusing to blame Bush in particular or the Republican Party in general for the economic crisis, and for punishing the average voter was fair minded enough to realize that the recession was just getting underway when Bush was sworn in, so far offshoot targets that could be ascribed to Republicans, the voters could

recall that the Clinton White House was not exactly a model of probity. Voters—even those opposed to war with Iraq—were, in general, pleased with Bush as national leader and not very impressed with any of the Democratic contenders.

Until early October, polls were showing no swing either way, which means control of Congress was too close to call. Republicans or Democrats could sweep, albeit by less than margins, or, more probably, seal most pollsters' best hopes of Congress would lack their current leadership.

By mid-October, there were signs in many surveys that the Democrats' former opponents might be pacified. Pollsters finally discovered evidence that fears about the economy, exacerbated by the renewed plunge in the stock market, were producing a mid-east swing to Democratic candidates among some middle class Republicans and independents.

Both had managed to escape through the months in which the stock market and the reputation of Big Business were both doing to new depths, with the August stock market having lost more than 10 percent in 2000. But the latest swoon came not from new evidence of old sins, but from disappointment with corporate earnings, and near-continuous downgrading of Europeans. This has been, so far, according to Richard Branson of Merrill Lynch, the biggest earnings collapse since the Second World War—and there's no sign of any let-up in hand.

What if the real problem for the truck market wasn't Enson, WorldCam and Tyco, but the end of an era in which American companies, reliant on exporting American

economic performance, could show reliable year-to-year earnings growth?

Once *Widespread*, "I can resist anything but temptation." The punditocracy and liberal political elites rarely resist a chance to interpret a major stock market move as confirmation of their own prejudices. Back when *Nasdaq* was dubbing new heights, those commentators were nearly unanimous in proclaiming the market's wisdom in recognizing the New Economy that the dots had reconnected before Wall Street.

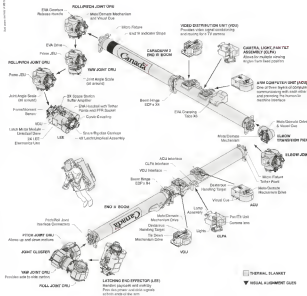
Even in the various news-related forums, being very useful for these self-organizing users, because "[i]n building their arguments that the California energy crisis was not the fault of California's political establishment, but those at work in other standard values of liberal demographics, and (2) allowed them to blame the stock market collapse on politicians, rather than on the inevitable hardship from the biggest orgy in the history of finance. Nudging would never have gone past 7,500 had the media and the other class not joined in the hegemony that a California based trading bubble would instill in a new New Era that would make investments with the economy stall, and the world peaceful through Internet based under capitalism."

Nasdaq is down three-quarters from its peak, and has dragged much of the rest of the stock market along with it. (The only real winners in the last ordinary week were the Hoover and Nixon administrations, and everyone knows what happened to them. Among the casualties of this crisis is Bush's proposal to give Social Security participants a choice to invest personal savings accounts that they could ruin in stocks. That had been pretty popular, particularly with young voters who doubt they'd ever collect benefits after Democrats have financed our debt, running TV ads showing Republicans pranking old ladies in wheelchairs over cliffs.)

Flash needs a Wall Street bounce, or a period of calm. A new swoon that convinces more middle-class voters of a double-digit recession would deliver a Democratic swing on Nov. 5.

A record percentage of the electorate in each borough. The votes registered on Wall Street could be, for the first time ever, the votes that swing a close election.

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LIGHTING UP THE WORLD

A Canadian's obsession has helped thousands

DAVE IRVINE-HALLIDAY climbs out of his navy blue tent, slips into his leather sandals and ventures into the warm Nepali night. It isn't that he's alone, awash in the silence of a remote village, that intrigues him. It's the light, visible through the windows of the tiny clay-and-stone homes, that he still finds remarkable. After all, the glow from electric lights was rarely seen in the village before Irvine-Halliday's team arrived with the luminous gift. Now, children, once destined to spend their lives working in the fields, can study at night with the hope of a brighter future, doctors can operate more effectively, and jungle predators no longer freely roam the village under cover of darkness.

This is Irvine-Halliday's obsession—one that has cost him thousands of dollars of his own money. But he would gladly give up this job as an electrical and computer engineering professor at the University of Calgary if someone would just pay him to fulfill his dream of bringing light into the homes of millions of people in remote corners of the world. His mission began in 1997, when he was travelling through Nepal's Thorung La Pass region. He was distressed to see children as young as six working in the rice fields, with little time for schooling. And since few homes had light, studying after dark was impossible. Irvine-Halliday discovered that by deploying modern technology, virtually anyone could have light, and in 2000 he created the foundation Light Up The World. "It is about giving kids a chance," says Irvine-Halliday, 66, the father of two grown children. "Reading and writing is such a vital part of any successful society. I just felt something needed to be done."

In May 2010, he travelled over a rugged trail for seven days to reach the Nepali village of Thulo Pokhara, where he set up his first



A child reads in the glow of one of Irvine-Halliday's low energy diode lamps.

lighting system. "I think it was put best" words Irvine-Halliday, "when the mother of the village lady said, 'When I light up the World came to the village, they not only brought light into our homes, but light into our hearts.' " This summer, he travelled to other villages in Nepal, and also to India, Sri Lanka and Tibet, to install more systems. And since the organization's inception, Irvine-Halliday and his small band of volunteers have brought light into the lives of thousands of people.

To start Light Up The World, Irvine-Halliday injected his family's entire life savings into the organization and mailed out three credit cards to keep it afloat. His group,

however, was put on a much more secure financial footing last week, when he and his wife, Jenny, travelled to Japan to accept a prestigious US\$100,000 Rolex Award for Enterprise, which gives entrepreneurs who improve the world. He is also shortlisted for a US\$50,000 technology award, which will be announced in early November. "Winning the Rolex award is like winning a mini-Nobel," he says. "It's now more certain than ever that we will reach a million people with lamps by 2015."

Irvine-Halliday's success so far can be attributed to the simplicity and cheapness of the system. Electricity is generated by a pedal-powered generator, or by solar panels connected to a central battery. Lamps are run on-coach home and connected to low energy diode lamps



The light is extremely efficient, and dozens of homes equipped with them consume less energy than it takes to power a single 300-watt bulb. That's a major part of the success in solar panels, and last week he met with village firms in Kyoto, Japan, to discuss acquiring the panels at a low cost. "We are trying to drive the price down so we can put a solar panel and a couple of lamps in each home," Irvine-Halliday says.

Once a village has been chosen and equipped, each family is encouraged to pay a very monthly fee, and must keep the system's battery in good working order. "I get letters from people in villages all the time asking me to run," says Irvine-Halliday. "We will not waste money and time on villages that are not 100 per cent behind the project."

Occasionally Light Up The World will return to villages to ensure the systems are still working. Irvine-Halliday says he seldom is surrounded by the remoteness of the locals. "Some of the things you use to keep the systems going are just incredible," he says. Just receiving the remote villages is hard work. In his backpack Irvine-Halliday carries only three T-shirts, two pairs of socks, a pack of, a pair of shoes, two pairs of underwear, a toothbrush and a pair of scissors to groom his grey-flecked beard. This summer he and his two-member team spent more nights in a pair of small tents. "I have never really been born," he says. "We are very careful because what we use we use if we spend days in bed."

To start Light Up The World, Irvine-Halliday injected his family's entire life savings into the organization and maxed out three credit cards

One of the biggest hurdles has been dealing with the political instability in many of the places they visit. In Nepal, Maoist rebels have been locked in a war with police, lawmakers and government for the last seven years that has claimed the lives of more than 5,000 people. "I've never been afraid for myself," Irvine-Halliday says. "However, I'm quite concerned for our partners who carry the lights to remote villages, since they would likely receive less consideration than us." But nothing has so far troubled Irvine-Halliday off course. "We can't just stop," he says. "It's too important."

While the goal of the project is to provide lamps to read and write by, Irvine-Halliday has made a few exceptions. One man, in Sri Lanka, asked him for a lamp to see some sheep, which had been wandering through his yard. The man also asked for a lamp to leave on during the night so his family could see the snakes that creased his home. In another case, Irvine-Halliday installed his lamps in a children's orphanage in a small Indian village, run by a Jesuit priest. Father Ashwin, who moved to the village about 50 years ago, said Irvine-Halliday was given a few lamps for the main hallway. Many of the children were afraid of the dark and would not go to the bathroom at night, but with a light now shining, a bedwetting problem has been largely solved.

Irvine-Halliday also gave Sister Regina, the head of a hospital in Bagmati, a few lamps to light up her operating table. The trust, which operates at the hospital's only surgery, was ecstatic with how well the lamps worked while generating only a very small amount of heat—a unique advantage in India's extreme conditions. Now, even after installing thousands of lights, Irvine-Halliday is thrilled when each new set of lamps is. "It still gives me goosebumps," he says. "I still give a reward, enough to keep him travelling to remote corners of the world."

THE PHANTOM OF THE COURT

IF THERE'S ANYTHING Garth Drabinsky hates, it's being videotaped while winking. A childhood boast of politicking him with a pre-winked flap. In the old days, when the flamboyant, risqué impresario called the show, he'd almost never let us shoot him this way, but there was no avoiding the media pack after his last hunting-hair week. He had quietly surrendered to police in the morning to face 19 counts of fraud, including half a billion dollars, for allegedly crooking the books at Levent Inc., his defunct live-theatre company. The walk to a waiting van may have been agonizing, but at least he wasn't paraded in front of the cameras in handcuffs like so many American execs accused of corporate fraud. He even fired better than his long-time partner Myron Gottlieb, who had to wear the cuffs in court.

The circumstances of Drabinsky's arrest have spared him at least a little public-ha-ha mitigation. And for that matter, the whole process appears to be easier in Canada. It's been four years of trial; the RCMP's commercial crime section combed away hundreds of boxes of documents from Levent's Toronto headquarters. "We've taken four years because we wanted to do a thorough investigation. It was complicated and complex," said Det. Insp. Craig Harcourtford. U.S. authorities had enough evidence to lay criminal charges against Drabinsky in court in 1999. He never returned to face them, preferring to wait for Canadian justice.

In the last few years, Drabinsky has handled life as a fugitive with style, winking an award-winning show called *The Phantom of the Opera*, just two days before his arrest, a triumphant presentation for the Toronto Argonauts in solving former heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali. This is not the first time he's reinvented himself. He started Levent in 1988 after losing Copleys Odessa Corp. in a nasty takeover battle. Before it collapsed nine years later, Drabinsky became a big star as the actor in his mega-musicals, which include *The Phantom of the Opera*, *Baggage and Slave Boat*

Why it took four years to charge Garth Drabinsky

The impresario leaves his cuff-kiss bill hearing



Some lawyers say there are procedural factors, such as differences in disclosure rules. In why it took so long for Drabinsky to be charged, contended with the U.S. "These are a list of reasons why it can be slow," says forensic accountant Al Rosen, "but it's not a four-year excuse." Rosen says the police could have taken two years at most. But the RCMP doesn't have the money or the talent to move more quickly.

Then there's the question of how interested Canadian authorities are to go after corporate fraud. "All the time, I find extreme reluctance to call people in account, and to appear to be going against business people," says Rosen. But despite the delay, the RCMP is publicizing Levent in a way that is rare in a commercial case. Officials took care to call a news conference just before the bail hearing. This way, they could talk a little about the charges on the record before the judge could skip a public-house bar on the proceedings. And then, although Elton John played a concession, there's the U.S. example. A lot of this has to do with the fact that corporate fraud is the flavour of the

crash in the U.S., says Larry Glusbeck, professor emeritus at Osgoode Hall Law School. "The fact that he's being prosecuted in the U.S. and refuses to go there had to attract the RCMP's attention, and create pressure and excitement." Glusbeck and other lawyers wonder if the Mexicans would have pursued the case had there been no U.S. charges. "Whatever the motive, what counts is that the RCMP has moved against a corporate bigwig for one of the first times in its history. Before he was arrested, Drabinsky's final phase-op was with a group of heavyweights, including Ali and George Chavala. It looked like that would be a fitting end song for Drabinsky, in his latest incarnation. For days later, his influence on popular culture and capital markets was still at the forefront. Two-thousand people gathered for a gala entertainment evening to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Toronto Stock Exchange. The finale for the black tie affair: Garth Drabinsky's *Phantom of the Opera*.

Lebby Zakner is a movie specialist for Toronto-based *Globe*

'All I can remember is him joking, "You got pretty hair"'

George Chavala first fought Muhammad Ali on March 20, 1965, in Toronto. Ali won the heavy favourite, but the misbegotten Canadian pushed the champ to the 19-second limit before falling on his back. "He went to the hospital after rounds, with bleeding kidneys," Chavala says. "I went dancing with my wife." In retirement, the two have supported each other in difficult times. Ali, 68, suffers from Parkinson's disease, while Chavala has endured terrible tragedy—three sons died as a result of homicide, and his wife, Lynn, committed suicide. Chavala joined other celebrities sponsoring Ali at Toronto at a Parkinson's research fundraiser.

We pick up the phone and talk all the time, but I'm a little hard of hearing and Muhammad's

voice is so loud so whenever we're talking things, it was noisy and I could barely hear anything. He said, about all I can remember hearing is him joking, "You got pretty hair." It was funny, you know, kinda cute.

Most people know Ali's a pretty decent guy, a humanitarian. But I was thinking about what he's meant to me. I'd just lost my wife and my son, and some friends in Rochester, N.Y., held a function for me. They invited friends of mine from all over, so Ali came, Joe Foweraker came, a few other guys came. The thing with Ali is, he didn't have to be asked twice. We brought his wife, and he was there to support me and my family at a very difficult time. I don't see Muhammad any more and I know he won't communicate the way he used to. But he said some things that com-

forted me, and his mere presence said a lot. Part of me feels I had to owe him the way he responded, but look at him. To me he looks happy. His mind is still sharp, he's got a beautiful family, his kids are all fine, and he's at peace with himself, with his faith. We adjusted extremely well to his condition.

If something bad hadn't happened to me, I wouldn't know how to help kids, tell them about thousands of things. I think I owe tonight because of what happened to my family. The same thing with Ali. When you are in that condition, still fighting against Parkinson's, still not giving up, you know he's still got a purpose in his life.

Know what I like most about him? He treats everyone with respect, and there's nothing to be said for that. Muhammad's a sweet guy.





HOW WE LIVE

The family is alive and well, it's just changing before our eyes

FOR MANY PEOPLE, where and how they live is code for so much more. Big, for example, you live alone—in the precise language of the statisticians, you comprise a “single-person household.” That tells others you never married or are divorced or widowed, that you’re free to set your own schedule, that you don’t have a lot of guests. Look at a number and a variety of living arrangements and a portrait of a society as a whole starts to emerge. Statistics Canada debited release of data from the 2006 Census data just that—and more. Beyond the carefully neutral language and dry title—“Profile of Canadian families and households: Demographic features”—is a picture of a country in flux from a generation ago that it’s no longer clear what the so-called “norm” is. Most Canadians still live in some sort of family unit, but the definition of family is increasingly elastic.

The actual number of “traditional” fam-

ilies—legally married parents with one or more kids all living under the same roof—has remained constant from 1981 to 2001, at about 3.5 million. But as a proportion of all families, the decline has been dramatic: from 55 per cent to 41.5 per cent. During the same period, the numbers of couples without children, lone-parent families, and stepfamilies have all increased. So has the number of common-law couples, who are counted for 14 per cent of all families in 2001, more than double the proportion found in 1981—and nearly twice the proportion found in the last United States census. (Canada’s larger number is thanks in no small part to Quebec—the Sweden of North America—where the prevalence of common-law couples is highest of any province at 36 per cent of all couples.)

Even as the family is changing, young adults seem more eager than ever to cling to it. Fully 41 per cent of the 3.8 million

Canadians aged 20 to 29 still lived in their parents’ home last year. In 1981, only 27 per cent of young adults remained at home; in 1991, 33 per cent.

The snapshot StatCan took on May 15, 2001, brought other members of the Canadian family into sharper focus. For the first time, the census asked about same-sex partnerships. The result: last week’s data counted 34,306 same-sex couples in Canada, representing 0.5 per cent of all couples. (Not surprisingly, the majority live in the biggest centre.) But according to one StatCan spokesman, his unofficial tally shows same-sex couples living in all but six of Canada’s 36 federal electoral districts. Michelle Deag, head of the Foundation for Equal Families, a group that has long lobbied for legal equality for same-sex partners, said she was thrilled to finally be counted. “I didn’t have the option to represent my status before,” she said, noting that as gays and lesbians see the government protecting their privacy, more will come forward on future censuses.

With families evolving so dramatically, it’s not surprising other big changes are afoot. Between 1981 and 2001, smaller households represented the fastest growing type in Canada. There are now as many one-person households as there are those with five or more people. Average household size decreased during the same period from 2.9 to 2.6 persons.

But who is that “9 or 4 of a person”? On the following pages, Maclean’s writers and contributors put flesh on the numbers to show how Canadians are living together—and apart—in the dawn of a new reality.

Charts and tables prepared by Chief of Research Patricia Bédard
Source: Statistics Canada



MARRIED, WITH CHILDREN

THE VALUES SECTION of Montreal’s *West Island* is neither allent nor trendy. It is also close to the runways of David’s airport, so the local joke you can recite the trends on the remaking wheel of your back deck. It’s there that Mady Virginia and Brian Gallagher, having backed Quebec’s common-law trend and married in 1993, after bedroom-sight level with their son Brendan, 8, daughter Emma, 6, two cats and a dog, Gallagher, 58, who was a 20-year mobile manager at Alcan and he would go into mass

handshake in 1999, works as a consultant from home. Virginia, 40, was a sales rep for a magazine publisher before going back to McGill University to earn a B.A., a goal she put on hold to be a full-time mom when they had their first child. It was a joint decision and one Virginia has rarely second-guessed. “You develop a bond with your kids,” she says, “that’s based not just on quality but on sheer quantity of time.”

But raising two children on one primary income has made for the sort of creative budgeting that fosters an appreciation of

frictions, hand-me-downs and more frugal parenting, which value acquaintance with Dollarsense. “It forces you to be creative about how you approach issues of getting and money together,” Virginia says.

Gallagher agrees their greatest stress is financial. “It’s the biggest pressure because single-breastfeeding families in Canada are penalized for doing what we’re doing,” he says. “We’re still middle class, but in Côte de la Montagne we’re squeezed.” At the same time, both acknowledge the benefit of having kids who understand the word “no.” Fa-

THE SHRINKING FAMILY

In 1981, there were 2.9 people in the typical home. 20 years later that number is 2.6 Canadians per household.



FAMILY PORTRAITS

Statistics Canada census includes three main components in its definition of a “common-law” (or “common-law”) couple: common-law couples (including same-sex couples) and single parents.

Families composed of	Total of families	%
Married couples	5,361,415	70.5
With children at home	3,493,728	41.5
Without children at home	2,451,428	29.6
Common-law couples	1,758,425	13.8
With children at home	638,465	6.3
Without children at home	492,345	5.5
Single parents	3,341,140	15.7

THE CLEAVERS UNDER SIEGE

In the past two decades, the total number of families with children under 25 years old has roughly doubled. The same can't be said for the "married with kids" stereotype, but the traditional "married with kids" family is an idea whose time is passing.

Families with kids at home	1990	2001
Married	87%	49%
Single parent	16	29
Common-law	3	12*

* PROJECTED BASED ON TRENDS

plein Virginia, "We used not to be a very socialistic couple and I think we've transitioned that to them. And because they spend a lot of time around us, those values are actually do niggar. Of course, that will most likely change when they're teenagers."

Virginia did go back to work full time for the first half of this year, while Gallagher was establishing his consulting base. But she chose not to cancel her contract with Montreal's Jewish General Hospital, where both have and now earn some money as a home-pathy side rep for children's books. She and Gallagher share more of the house's household chores now than when he was at home, particularly since he doesn't travel as much. He does about half of the cooking, which tends to fall to the one who isn't driving. Emma is never much of a helper in the kitchen, but that's more due to her son's autism and level down is due to no small measure to Virginia's flexible schedule. "There's no question," says Gallagher, "he just wouldn't be able to do it if we were both working."

While she acknowledges an occasional pang of envy over a European vacation or a new, instead of used, minivan, Virginia says she spends no time pining for the personal validation and social acceptance that purportedly come with a career. Nor does she judge women who choose to do things differently. "Look, if your kid's having a seizure at the supermarket and everyone's staring at you and your car isn't moving... whether it's 6 p.m. on a weekday or 2 in the afternoon—believe me, you're questioning your parenting skills." That's just what she chose to do. I don't call it a sacrifice. I call it a change in lifestyle."

LEAH KATZ DUBOIS FOR MONTREAL



DINNER FOR ONE

CAROLYN BORAS, 46, has never married and has no children, though, as a kindergarten teacher from New Westminster, B.C., she often feels she's been the mother to hundreds. "I don't know whether I chose singleness or if it chose me," she says, scoffing into a coach in her easy condominiums after a typical 30-hour work day. With three new children numbers, she finds herself among fully one-quarter of adult Canadians who live alone. "I never made a conscious decision to be single," she says. "Just up until this point that's kind of how it's worked out."

Boras, a vibrant redhead with a passion for fitness and ballroom dancing, did decide not to have children. "That's something that never interested me," she says. "I really do not think I could do the job I have if I had to come home to kids." Still, she tries to justify never having married. "People look at me like there's something wrong with me," she says. Yet she knows from her job that children of intact two-parent households are getting more care.

There are advantages to being single. Boras has built a comfortable life on her own.

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HOME ALONE

While the overall population grew just under 18 per cent in a decade, single-person households increased by almost a third. Nearly three million Canadians live by themselves—64 per cent of them women, and 35 per cent of them aged 65 and over.

	No. of single-person households	% increase 1991-2001
British Columbia	416,130	15
Alberta	255,375	28
Saskatchewan	306,150	14
Manitoba	175,700	17
Ontario	983,140	25
Quebec	889,170	25
New Brunswick	53,885	16
Prince Edward Island	11,586	38
New Scotia	89,605	23
Newfoundland	34,068	20
Canada	2,576,875	30

terms. "I know how to take care of myself. I've got the freedom to come and go. My money is my own." She has also avoided the emotional toll of a failed marriage, unlike some widows: wounded she has not, while dating. "People have got baggage," she says. "Financial baggage, lost baggage. It really is walking through a minefield."

There are days, though, when it would be nice to come home to a dog, a dinner on the stove, questions about her day. She remembers once being soothed by a dog she couldn't get out of bed. "I thought, I could probably die in this bed, and how long would it take for some body to notice?" she says. "It was a very sobering moment."

A year ago, she joined a single-group welcoming social activities rather than matchmaking. It has widened her circle of friends and allowed her to spend more Sunday nights on the dance floor. Male partners are often in short supply. "The single guys, born first, don't tend to reproduce. Besides, many of them got hitched up with a new woman within months of being divorced or widowed." Women work and they work hard or at relationships, she says. "Well, they don't have a clue how to do this." What they really ought to do, she says with a self-mockering laugh, is learn to dance.

Ken MacQueen in Vancouver



PARTNERS IN PARENTING

LYNN MACKINNON and Ryan Cole wanted the small-town life when they decided to set up house together 15 years ago. The name of the place they chose—Tibb's Hill, N.S.—did not exactly promise supportive attitudes towards their intimate relationship. But having grown up in nearby Tatamagouche, they knew the reality in the village of 5,000, a person's character, not his or her sexual orientation, is what really matters. And it hasn't hurt that Nova Scotia as a whole is developing a reputation for tolerance, allowing adoptively same-sex couples and gay couples and lesbians the opportunity to register a domestic partnership with the province's Vital Statistics office. That gives them rights

equivalent to a heterosexual common-law couple's, including pension benefits and division of assets upon separation or death. "From the moment we arrived, we've been accepted by our neighbours, at our church, at the kids' school—everywhere," says Cole, 41, a warranty administrator for a heavy equipment operator. "All that's important around here is who's a good neighbour."

She and her partner seem to fit the bill: they cut the grass in front of their modest bungalow, make a meal for the funeral reception when somebody they know dies, and take their two sons—aged nine and seven—to the local United Church on Sunday. Cole has legally adopted the boys, Mackinnon is a

CANADIAN RAINDROP FUNDING ASSOCIATION
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OUT OF THE CLOSET

The 2001 census counts 34,700 same-sex couples living across Canada. The highest percentages among major urban centres:

	No. of same-sex couples	% of all couples
1. Vancouver	3,868	8.9
2. Ottawa-Hull	2,770	9.9
3. Montreal	6,405	9.8
4. Victoria	585	6.8
5. Quebec City	1,140	9.7
6. Calgary	1,285	9.6
7. Toronto	6,685	9.6
8. Halifax	530	5.6
9. Sherbrooke, Que.	285	9.6
10. Winnipeg	785	5.5
Canada	34,700	6.5

the midst of the process. That's the life of typical small-town parents, right down to the two dogs and a cat and the car and van in the driveway. Weekends and summer vacations are spent in their oceanfront mobile home with no running water. They face the same challenges as parents anywhere, juggling jobs, volunteer work and the little as the lives while running a household. Aside from MacKinnon, 45, a self-employed accountant, begging work of the Seasons, there's no strict division of labour. "Whoever is available jumps in with the cooking, cleaning and yard work, as well as overseeing the housework and running the boys to Cubes and extracurricular lessons."

Both women deposit their earnings into a single bank account. It covers household expenses, provides for retirement savings, allows them to put some cash away to take the boys on a trip to Disney World some day and lets each of them take on the same amount of spending money each month. Not that there's any time to actually spend these shares other than on the occasional dinner with friends. "We were used to having some private time," says MacKinnon. "But the whole focus changes when you have children." Two years into their new lives, they're still getting the hang of it. But if you ask MacKinnon and Cole, they, like so many other parents, simply wouldn't have it say any other way.

John DeMont in Halifax



AFTER A MARRIAGE FAILS

FOR PAT HINDS the husband thing about separating from her husband seven years ago was abandoning the family home and moving her three children to the only place she could afford: a rundown, low-income housing complex in northwest Calgary. Garbage was thrown everywhere, the kitchen and playground equipment were crumbling and the grass was long and unattended because none of the tenants owned a lawnmower. "The first thing I did was sit down and cry," recalls Hinds. "Then I thought, 'I can crawl on a hole and die—or I can change it.'"

Hinds chose the latter. In addition to working full-time and raising her kids, she supplemented a meager cleaning company. Hinds and her neighbours held bottle drives and sold old toys to raise enough money to

buy two lawnmowers. They successfully lobbed the cry and their landlords replaced the playground gear and fences. They even convinced Calgary residents to donate flowers they could plant. Last week, in recognition of her community service, Hinds became one of 46,000 Canadians to receive a commemorative medal marking Queen Elizabeth's golden jubilee.

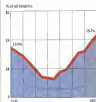
During a visit to Hinds's small but antiques-filled three-bedroom townhouse, it quickly becomes clear that this is no one very determined—and sleep-deprived—woman. Hinds, 46, works seven-plus hours a day, six days a week, doing promotion for a local

restaurant and catering service. Depending on the task at hand, she earns between \$730 and \$800 an hour. About a third of her wages go toward her husband's rent. The rest (along with some child support from her ex-husband), is doled out carefully for clothes and food as well as daycare and school fees. She scores grocery flyers for bargains and shops on bulk with a neighbour for further savings. Children's clothes are steadily purchased at end-of-season sales and bought big so they will last through the year.

Hinds says her typical day begins at 4 a.m., when she tidies her house, does laundry, paying the bills, reading the grocery

SOLO PARENTING

While the numbers of single parent families soared, the proportion headed by women—currently 81 per cent—has changed little since the Depression. What is different is the mothers' marital status—then they were typically widowed; today being divorced or single is the norm.



flyers, writing letters. Then it's packing the lunchbox and getting a start on the evening meal. At 7 a.m., she rouses seven Tigh, 8, and Tyson, 14, (a third son, Cheah, 23, now lives outside the home) and has them on their way to school an hour later. She arrives at work by bus shortly before 9 and continues, with a lunch break, until 4 or 5 p.m. Then it's time to pick up Tigh at his after-school program and oversee the evening what of dinner, homework, her community work, her own sports activities—and sometimes more laundry. She tries to call it quits by 10 p.m., but doesn't always succeed.

Still, Hinds says she has never considered not working. "I'll run on wellies," she says, "I wouldn't be teaching my children responsibility, determination and a good work ethic." But she admits to sometimes feeling burned out and lonely. "You leave behind a whole life when you are no longer part of a couple," she says. "Years well as she thinks about how she'd like to be living." "What I'd really like is my own house," she says. "At least you'd have something to show for all your hard work. But a bank wouldn't give a lonely life even a second glance. It's a pipe dream."

Brian Braggins in Calgary



NO RUSH TO LEAVE HOME

WHEN NICOLE CARTER left for university in 1996, she vowed never to move back into her parents' Markham, Ont., home. But after she finished her master's degree in geography at the University of Guelph in April, the full-time job offers didn't exactly pour in. The 25-year-old decided to swallow her pride—and return to the nest. "I want to save money for a down payment and figure out what I really want to do with my life," says Carter, who is currently working on a short contract for a genetic environmental consulting firm. "Living with my parents allows me the luxury to do both without the pressure of high rent."

Turns out Carter is not alone. Statistics

Canada found that 41 per cent of the 3.8 million young adults in Canada between the ages of 20 and 29 were living with their parents in 2001—an increase from 33 per cent in 1991. The gap between the provinces of Newfoundland and Ontario are most likely to bump in with their kids, and statistics indicate that the young men have a tougher time severing ties with their parents than young women.

Carter says the survey results closely mirror her own circle of friends. Almost all of them returned home following graduation. Her co-worker Sarah—undergraduate school teacher in Markham—moved back to with her parents two years ago after completing a B.A. in French at the University of West

THE LONG GOODBYE

The kids are taking their time leaving home after high school or university. A staggering 41 per cent of all adults aged 20 to 29 live in the parental home up from 27 per cent in 1991.

% living at home



ern Ontario. Sarah recently bought a house, but until the move-in date scheduled for next spring, she will continue to share her life with mom and dad.

As the cost with many Canadian parents, Eve and Mike Carter are not pressuring their daughters to leave, but instead are supportive of their efforts to find decent work and achieve financial security. "With rent as high as it is," says Mike, "it's nearly impossible to save for a down payment and pay rent at the same time." Soaring student debt is another major hurdle for graduates. While the Carter women completed school without the burden of student loans, their mother notes that not everyone they know is so fortunate. "A lot of our friends are telling us that their kids are coming out of school with debts that are like mini-mortgages," says Eve, an elementary school principal. "I don't know how you ever get ahead if you don't have an opportunity to catch your breath."

But like any change, coming back home has meant an adjustment for the entire family. "I'm reminded every day that there are now four adults in the house," says Eve. "The girls have a different way of living and we've had to try a little harder to make it work. But ultimately it's great, having them at home." Nevertheless, Nicole has started looking for a condo in Toronto. But for now, life at home is the perfect short-term solution.

John Ikin is in Markham.

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Column | MARY JAGAN



THE SINS OF OMISSION

Why are there 2.4 million more social insurance cards than eligible people?

IT IS DISSEMINATINGLY easy to guess how the tale runs out. In 1993, the Auditor General rarely noted that Human Resources Development Canada was missing social insurance numbers with bureaucratic abundance. Little was done to verify the identity of the applicant—or to investigate fraud. In fact, there were 3.6 million more cards for people over 20 than there were people over 20. Much of that was owing to this: Two Commons committees held hearings. HRDC caused the working groups, which reported in February, 2000. In the fall of 2000, HRDC asked for more money to reform SIN management. The new funds were apparently insufficient to pay for all those improvements—but HRDC didn't reallocate resources to make up the shortfall. Surprise: the Auditor General has now reported there are five million more cards for people over the age of 20 than there are people over the age of 20.

What's more a mystery is why does this happen? How does a department so clearly fail in its obligation to taxpayers? The Commons robbled together the super department of HRDC in mid-1993. It herded everything from Employment Insurance to post-secondary education to labour policy to pension to job creation programs. It has a huge 2002-2003 budget of \$697 billion. And nine years after its creation, it remains a clump of isolated silos. "The reality is that the silos don't function together," says Public Policy Forum president David Rossman, who chaired the Liberal transition in 1993. "We have tended to underestimate the difficulty of bringing about organizational change."

But it is more than a year after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. And privacy expert Reg Whitaker, a University of Victoria political scientist, bluntly points out that concerns about SIN numbers now goes far beyond the fact they can be used to access government benefits. "They are a necessary part of building a false identity for purposes of fraud or for purposes even more sinister such as terrorism," he warns.

Such curriculae reflect badly on Canada in its dealings with allies. Wesley Wark, an espionage expert at Toronto's Munk Centre for International Studies, notes that the SIN revelations came more days before the news broke that Canada had lost track of 91 war criminals who vanished before they could be deported. "The Canadian government is always intent on not just ensuring security but ensuring the perception of being security-conscious," Wark says. "These stories suggest that in certain key departments there is just too much administrative sloppiness."

The Auditor General's probe did prod HRDC into seeking overdue reforms. In a damage-control exercise on the day the report was released, the department announced it will now only accept original documents as proof of identity—audit has narrowed the list of 38 different documents that it once accepted for that proof. It has also deactivated SINs that have not been used in five years. (Until last May, it did not even investigate any transaction on a dormant SIN it simply processed it.) But, as the Auditor General sadly noted, that still leaves 2.4 million more cards than eligible people. And although HRDC has increased its fraud probes to 6,500 this year, its extra funding also ends in this fiscal year. Anyway, the report adds on elegantly denigrating prose: "It is not clear that this effort was focused on high risk areas."

So what should be done? Until the arrival in May of the new Clerk of the Privy Council, Alex Himmelfarb, the same person was handling both security and organizational issues in that office, so organization inevitably slipped to the bottom of the heap.

Minister Jane Stewart is always understanding with her officials; she doesn't lose her temper. Perhaps she should.

Now there is a senior bureaucrat in Ottawa's nerve centre who is dedicated to ensuring that the government works. But that is no substitute for ministerial oversight. HRDC's Jane Stewart is widely liked—more than two years ago, with determined dignity, she defended her department amid revelations that it had doled out millions of dollars in grants with improper documentation. She is always understanding with her officials; she does not lose her temper.

Perhaps she should. Ottawa insiders speak warily of former New Brunswick cabinet minister Doug Young, who hired a retired Privy Council bureaucrat as his long-term executive assistant through three ministries including HRDC. Young did insist on results—and he could rely on that minister, Fred Drummond, to keep on top of files. "In bureaucratic establishments, things get done a certain way for a long time—and it is very difficult to institute change," says Young, now an Ottawa strategic consultant. "You have to have vision. You have to have direction. But I am not a manager. I am a lot more hands-on either get it done or else."

There is more at stake than the integrity of the SIN system. Ottawa is essentially a dysfunctional city as Prime Minister Jean Chrétien takes his long goodbye; it is hard to get things done, including SIN clean-ups. So if anything terrible should happen which involves SIN misuse, the ensuing investigation to HRDC's infidelity may have even more far-reaching consequences, for example, could become the norm. It is important to act now. And the more we learn about an inter-departmental committee, which includes HRDC, that is now examining the issues of document integrity and identification.

The choices are rough. Privacy expert Whitaker says the best technical solution to SIN misuse is an electronic card that our risk-homocentric data-rich to palm scans. The cost would be high; the technology is pricey and governments must somehow ensure that the documents used to obtain the card are themselves valid. The privacy issues would be daunting: it is vital to secure data from other prying agencies and private firms. "But if you do not go that way, then you really are in a bit of a dilemma," says Whitaker. Clearly, it will be harder to get out of this mess than it was to get into it. □

Mary Jagar's columns appear every other issue. mjagar@canadabest.ca



THIS LAND IS MY LAND

The rest of my American family couldn't stand Canada, but I'm staying

IN 1968, my father sold his small farm in Montana, gave up his lacrosse job, packed up his possessions and moved his large family—including me, a four-year-old—to Kamloops, B.C. Why exactly he did this, he has never said. I have asked him several times, but he only responds vaguely about how he thought the hunting and fishing would be better in Canada. The truth is probably quite different. One of my earliest memories is waking up to my mother talking to my father in a raised, agitated voice: "I don't know a son to give to that damned war!" My older brothers were 18 and 19 at the time. Several months later, we moved.

My parents prospered in Kamloops. Dad launched an irrigation store, and immediately, business was very brisk. Soon he was venturing into other successful enterprises. We despite all his good fortune. Mom and Dad always accepted Canadian life. Around the dinner table, some of the main topics of conversation were how "Canadians have no traditions," or "Canadians never say what they mean," or "Canadians want the government to do everything for them." Call it family speaking, Canada was always a poor fit for Mom and Dad's haughty sensibilities. Like some Jews who constantly make wafers of "Next year in Jerusalem," Mom and Dad always indicated us with the notion that someday we would return home to the States.

Despite my proximity to them, I grew up in a very different world from the rest of my family. It was by far the youngest, as Canada was all I ever knew. I learned myself in hockey and soccer, sports my parents found puzzling, and was socialized in Canadian schools. My family would always laugh about how I "talked like a little Canuck." Even in college, I made a conscious effort to act "more American" around them, but this role was seldom very convincing.

My brothers gave Canada a try for several years, but both couldn't wait to leave. They said they never "felt right" in Canada, so each one, when confident enough to

break the umbilical cord, got in his car and drove south to the promised land. Aside from the occasional short visit, I hardly ever saw them after that. My two sisters stayed in Canada for several years longer. One married a Canadian and had four kids. She eventually convinced her husband that life in the States was superior, so they plunged in and disappeared south. My other sister also married a Canadian, but this marriage didn't last long. Her bitter experience convinced her that there was nothing for her in Canada, and she departed, swearing off everything Canadian in having wasted the prime of her life. She eventually married an American chiropractor and settled in southern Utah. She claims she'll never set foot in Canada again.

In 1986, instead of moving "back home," my parents sold an impressive ranch in Kamloops and bought an enormous ranch in northern B.C. In fact, so colossal was it that their assets could cover only half; the other half was purchased with an astronomically huge mortgage. Even at the naive age



of 16, I was worried by the magnitude of such a debt. Why did my parents move north, even though they had always included life in Canada? It was probably because my dad's vision of being another Ben Cartwright, living on his Ponderosa spread, was even stronger than his desire to go back to the States. In northern B.C., land prices were still a fraction of U.S. prices.

Within three years, rising interest rates and the disastrous crop-staring climate of the north annihilated my dad's dreams. My parents lost everything, and in 1984, they cursed Canada and moved back to the States, never to return. I had no desire to go with them, however. B.C. was my home. Canada was my country. Everything I knew and loved was there. I got a job in a sawmill and stayed behind.

During the next two decades, Canada was very good to me. I was able to put myself through the Canadian university system, where I got a solid education. I attended my Canadian girlfriend, and we eventually settled into nice circles in Prince George. Three years ago, we had a son. My wife and I live a quintessentially Canadian life, proud of our civil and open society, in awe of our vast and unspoiled geography, and grateful for our liberties as well as our opportunities. I am indeed very appreciative that my son will grow up in such a magnificent country, surrounded by such decent values.

My family is a Canadian one that I choose to live in Canada, and at every opportunity, they snipe at all things Canadian. My dad invariably greets me with, "How's life in the great white north to the north?" They are genuinely perplexed by my Canadian speech and my liberal attitudes. Blatantly, years of living in different countries have carved a deep chasm in understanding between us. In 1982, when I became a Canadian, they all thought I had lost my mind.

Although I admire many aspects of the United States, it is clear that I am, at a very fundamental level, Canadian. It will never "feel right" in the U.S. The members of my family, conversely, could never find happiness in a Canadian society that did not share their subtly different norms and attitudes. In the final analysis, "home" is a very arbitrary concept. My sense of home stems from the day my parents moved to Canada. □

Matthew Shaw is a teacher and writer in Prince George, B.C. awtaylor@msccanada.ca



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READING THE LITERARY TEA LEAVES

BRIAN BETHUNE offers a handicapper's guide to the season's fiction contests

TIMING MATTERS. Missing about why his Booker Prize-winning novel, *Life of Pi*, might have "underperformed" in Canada last year, Martel author Yann Martel jokes to its release date: Sept. 11. "I flew into Toronto from New York the night before," he says. "After all, the next day was going to be an important date in world history—my book was coming out." But last year's disappointments are long gone for the eldest winner of one of the literary world's most prestigious and lucrative (\$126,000) awards. "I feel like I've won a lottery, an exclusive and inherently absurd lottery—how can you compare my book to, say, William Trevor's? But I had the luck this year."

Easy—and gracious—enough for a winner to say. Those who like or, worse, never get to own a brief moment in the shunt last year's light, tend to think there's a rational explanation somewhere, quite possibly a dark and compensational one. Her aggrieved writers and publishers, second guessing literary prize mechanisms as an annual rite of fall in Canada, where the declining national confidence—the Governor General's Literary Awards and the Giller Prize—rarely agree on more than two nominees. This year the game's even more fun than usual for more

intimidated at home, Martel's *Life of Pi* viewed the jury for the prestigious Booker

detached onlookers, given the internationalization directed towards CanLit by the Booker. Not only did Canadian writers buck its short list with three of its nominees (joining Martel) were Carol Shields, for *Elsewhere*, and Robertson Davies, for *Runaway Monday*, but Martel's winning novel, notwithstanding its 2001 Governor General's nomination (it wasn't even on the Giller list), never got to date at home. So yes, picking a winner in a literary race is a tug-of-war. As if that's not anyone. A handicapper's guide is the factors in play.

It's the parties, myriad. Conventional wisdom, an amalgam of publishers' hype, book-sellers' buzz and best-seller list appearances,

always points in a specific direction. But conventional wisdom doesn't have a vote. Judging so. For the most part in Canada that means three fellow authors or two writers and an academic, all of them members of nonexclusively individualism—not to say pure science—professions. This year it's novelist Barbara Gowdy and Thomas King, along with University of British Columbia Eng. lit. professor Bill New, for the Giller, and writers Evelyn Lau, Sandra Bellack and Douglas Glover for the Governor General's.

As the rest of the made-two-to-read the two losses of their choices, going (for based and otherwise) naturally yields around the judges. It ranges from their literary tastes to their personal views—whose counting scheme for which just gives loss, who's opposed to which perceived trespass into their her fictional territory, who's standing up for which friend. At the 2001 Giller, the jury declared itself helplessly deadlocked between *Miraculous* Among the Children by David Adams Richards and Michael Ondaatje's *The Englishman's Boy*. Error rating split between those who claimed all three judges were conflicted and those who believed two of them worked as the third like the various angel and devil who used to paralyze Daddy Duck. (Novelist Jane Urquhart, an ancestor of the Giller panel—for the record, she upped the boring, theory in correct.) In the end, the fact that you need to like their friends, as well as the kind of books they write themselves, merely flies in the face of the rest of us. *Bookish plays.* With *Life of Pi*, one of the finest novels of her distinguished career, Carol Shields made her national Vite and the Bookers', the only writer to do so. She's also 67, very ill from cancer, well liked by her

TIGER, TIGER BURNING BRIGHT
After a night of jubilation and three hours at sleep, Yann Martel may feel like a Humpty Dumpty leech on 2 Day. But he's still early to talk about *Life of Pi*, his Booker-winning novel. Martel said, in a moment of inspiration in 1996 while he was perched on a bookier near Berkeley, Pi is a highly original, frequently winning and ultimately a great fable—book four years to research and write. The novel came back dogging at first. It takes a long time for Martel to get *Life of Pi*, devoted in equal measure to Islam, Hinduism and Christianity, and the rest of his now-writing Indian family, once onetime in climate toward his Catholic. But a nice to reader choice—leaving the best



With *The Polished Hoe*, Clarke has written one of the jewels of his remarkable career

piece, a post-Giller martel who has never won and the reading public's overwhelming favorite. Factor in her writing that on the *Ravens* again—the was nominated in 1993 for *The Stone Diaries*—and the Giller jury must feel the weight of expectation dissonance like a blanket of smog. The Governor General's jury, having already warmly chosen fiction winner in September, don't have to deal with the Booker fiasco. (The two Canadian prizes are so important as to contradict the professions each other; the Governor General's fiction vote proceeds announcement of the Giller short list, and

has your winner won't be revealed until Nov. 12, a week after the Giller is presented.)

Why? Inclusion also made both Canadian lists, and he certainly has the main prize of every—superb and popular novel, *The Navigator* of New York. But at 44, with even greater things expected from him in the future, he may have to wait. In terms of odds, a booker probably couldn't top the judgment of the Toronto Public Library system when it announced its holdings of Giller books, 332 copies of *Life of Pi* to 141 of *Stone Diaries*—together, more than seven times as many as the other nominees combined.

Sets of odds. Nothing really since so money over the national short list this year than those who were conspicuously missing. Five votes on the Booker panel—of them, *Life of Pi*, a professional comrade—may have put *Miraculous* among the world's best English-language novels of 2002, but in his own country *Miraculous* couldn't get awarded. The *Last Crossing* by Gay Vander might meet a national critical and popular reception in Canada, and it's obvious it's equally striking. The same incident who throng at the Governor General's readings, scribbling there to the authors' post-vote, pin the Giller ends on general politics. Gowdy, who lost the 1993 Giller to Martel, writes now about the art of the long, narrow narrative in circles at. And readers mean that King, the son of a Canadian writer and a

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Books | >

non-movie mother, it's less than measured
of Underhaghe's tale of a historical mind-
boggling figure in the Western frontier.

Giller glass. The big-name omission
left room for three first-class nominees:
Austin Clarke, 68, got the nod for his novel
The Patient Rice, a flawed but still beauti-
ful jewel in his remarkable four-decade car-
reer. Called "one of the two or three most
talented black writers in North America"
by Norman Mailer, Clarke has been unjusti-
fiedly neglected here. The flow in *Merice*
mostly technical, including numerous in-
stances of incompressible chronology.
(One character is named of a type that took
place, according to the age he ignores, some
time before his birth.) Against that, the
edges were taken by the elegance of Clarke's
language and the sheer power of his narra-
tive—in the course of a single night, a woman
on an imaginary Caribbean island makes a
confession that fuses her life story with the
entire tragic history of the African experience
in the New World.

The other finalists are short-story writers
Lisa Moore and Bill Gutter, whose inclusion
marks the clearest indications of a canon-
ical (yet) conventional vision holds a story
collection—unless penned by Alice Munro—
to be a lesser artistic achievement than a
novel. Including one as a finalist is only po-
tential, naming two critics cynics, and the
thought of one winning is disconcerting.
Best about Moore's stunning stories in *Open*
was so positive that her inclusion was not un-
expected. But the little-known Gutter led
to much head scratching. (One favourite
theory it must be the work of English prof
New, a fellow British Columbia. But New's
economics Encyclopedia of Literature in
Canada fails to mention Gutter. Oh well.)
In truth, Gutter is a daring writer whose
Munro appears to linger in the third-
rate title story a far-out wonderful—even if
some seem to sacrifice content for form.
And for what's worth, he's well liked with-
in the trade. As one booker-club member, "I'll
reach rather how Bill Gutter, which a hell-
lous nice guy, in my store than a knob like
Wayne Johnston."

Giller's primary in the Toronto-dom-
inated media and publishing industries, the
"other" nominees—here, that is, that Shukla
or Johnston—were so unknown they made
Gutter seem as prominent as a booker win-
ner. That may, in fact, be the point. Perhaps
the jury—two writers and an Ontarioan,

Those who lose tend to
think there's a rational
explanation somewhere,
quite possibly a dark and
conspiratorial one



Shining stories put Moore on the Giller list.

Glover, now living in New York State—have
also been reading Stephen Hopkinson's *When
Words Deny the World*. The Governor Gen-
eral's non-fiction jury shortened the essay
collection, citing its author's "frenzy rage
against neo-fundamentalism and Toronto cen-
sors." The judges "must be doing that old
GG regional-bias thing," said one "Toronto-
skeinist," "so why didn't they nominate
Natalie Angeli?"

Why not? "The hate between inner and
outer literary Canada is exaggerated. Both
juries ignored Underhaghe (Saskatoon)
and Misery (Toronto). And while 70-year-old
Edmontonian Gloria Szustak (A Long for Net
to Johnson) has no profile at all, and Ann
leah (Kulak) not much more—despite being a
Toronto resident—Winnipeg's David
Bergin's psychologically acute novel *When
seized from a valid perspective*. The *City of
Luna* 5, his fourth, will be his breakout book.

Sorely going to miss if the juries agree
with conventional wisdom, which takes
both awards as a walk. And deservedly so,
although it's not the only worthy choice.
But both juries have demonstrated an in-
dependent streak and eclectic tastes. It'll
be Austin Clarke for the Giller and David
Bergin for the Governor General's
Oscar.

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SHORTCUTS ON THE ROCK

Small is beautiful at a festival of film and video in Newfoundland's capital

AS THE MOVIES, everything is supervised. We sizzle big drinks and big popcorn while watching big stars on a big screen with big sound in a movie that's supposed to be a big deal because it has a big budget and took a big gamble on the opening weekend. Then the year's most successful little movie is about a big fat Greek wedding. But recently I find the pleasure of watching in Newfoundland, at several venues where nothing was big except the name—the 13th annual St. John's International Women's Film and Video Festival.

There were no stars, no red carpet ceremonies. Of the program's 60 films, only five were features. In short, it was a festival of shorts. And because St. John's doesn't have a downtown cinema, most were projected on video in a community hall. All the films were devoted to or produced by women, but this was no *pinkys* party. It was an all-genre event. Feminist content, when Gill Singer brought down the house with *Blackleg Women*, her hilarious documentary about how audiences behave. As we watched the film about the body language of watching films, there was a physical resonance between us and the screen. And it made me realize small festivals are (quite fun) than big ones because they're about the audience.

Maybe it's something in the water. On the fog machine men of water and we they call weather. For a city of just 173,000, St. John's is a hydroponic mecca of cultural activity. Its theater has matched Canada's shapeliest, from Jack Morrice to COIXO veterans Mary Walsh, Andy Jones and Cady Jones. The city's bars are awash with music. And fiction is the new fiction—navigated by women like Wynne Johnson, Lisa Moore, Edith Mather and Michael Winter.

A typical festival party: it's 4 a.m., Jerry and the Whiskey Ninjas have dropped by to jam after a gig down the street, and the place is packed, not just with film folk but the cultural community at large. This is a town where everyone does everything. Heading a staff of six-year veterans, 25-year-old

festival director Kate Nicholson also works at the CBC's local theatre critic and helps oversee an art gallery. Festival chair Nancy Goldstein is a professor, film critic and broadcaster. Publicist Lindsay Norris is a vocal artist who has been involved in music, TV and theatre production. And technical coordinator Victoria King, an accomplished director. Her 1996 documentary *White Rider*, tells the story of New York film poster artist Victor Friesell, who was killed by an explosion on a ship in 1931 while shooting scenes for a Hollywood melodrama about Newfoundland seafarers. Friesell's footage of the sinking during across a howling gale of ice floes is astonishing, and so is his story.

White Rider, which aired on History Television and has two Gemini nominations, was one of 11 local productions in the festival. Unfortunately, you'll never get a chance to see most of the others. They're too short, and shown rarely get shown outside festivals. But one of them, "It Rained, must be the furthest four stars in film ever made. Created by St. John's director/director Gerry Rogers, it features Andy Jones as a teacher

as a blackboard integrating the letter "Y" with inspired leeway—growing, rotating, reversing—while the class watches in horror. Then there's Anita McGee's *Lamb Dialect*, a seven-minute tongue-twister. A Quebecer sells into a saloon and soon a lady with a song—*I have a little dishie? know how to use it well? take a dozen good lookies' chuck what to make it well?*

OK, so you had to be there. Very short films defy synopsis. I can't begin to convey the ethereal charm of *Pretty Big Dig*, a five-minute ballad of three long-necked yellow crabs performing synchronized manoeuvres to a waltz. Directed by Newfoundland's Anne Truske, it's the ultimate small film about large objects, a very fine instance of heavy earth-moving elegance.

Unlike features, which are such a strain to produce in Canada, shorts can be made on an affordable scale. They showcase some of our brightest filmmaking talent. And they deserve an audience. The solution would be to show shorts with regular intervals, in real places. Distributors won't do that voluntarily. So here's my suggestion: Ontario should consider legislation requiring theaters to rack a Canadian short onto each feature—even that means showing one less obnoxious trailer. It would mean making an industry force-fed with Hollywood product in *showtime* one jugged side pill of Canadian. And it's a medium where five minutes for too much, it might help audiences acquire a taste for that delicacy known to Canadian cinema. **B**



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PEOPLE | 67



PEOPLE | 69

Don't mess with Nashville
Outspoken country music rebel Steve Earle delivers a state-of-the-union address. Embarrassed by the U.S. plans for war and manipulation of Sept. 11, he released a new CD, *Jonestown*, with a message for all those "disaffected" who have spent too long comfortable



BOOKS | 66

A tale of two troublemakers: Actor Alan Cumming relives some of his bad boy ways to flesh out the hero in his debut novel.

Listings:

Electric J

A Century of Comfort
Until Jan. 5, 2003
Curated by the
Woodstock Museum
National Historic
Site: a collection of
12 quilts from Bedford
County, Pa., is on
display at the Hotel
and the Museum.
Towaco

The Spirit of Islam: Experiencing Islam through Calligraphy Based on the exhibit at the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia last spring, this Web site is an interactive show that uses images, animation and audio to explore Islamic art. <http://www.ousof.ca/can/collections>

This Other Eden:
Canadian Folk
Art Guilders
Until Jan. 5, 2003
More than 100 out-
door folk art pieces,
including decoys,
whirligigs and weath-
er vipers, are brought
indoors and placed as
an imaginary garden
at the Art Gallery of
Nova Scotia.

Herzog & de Meuron
Architects of the
Museum
Until April 6, 2000
Well known Swiss
architects Jacques
Herzog and Pierre
de Meuron (the pair
designs London's
Tate Modern) are
displaying material
from their archives at
the Canadian Centre
for Architecture.
Montreal



Archaeology | Can you dig it?

Consider the possible evidence of prehistoric fire trails. A series of archaeological digs this summer and fall near Prince Albert, Sask., unearthed thousands of well-preserved artifacts, animal skulls and bones, many dating back as much as 8,000 years. Among the most intriguing discoveries are what appears to be traces of abindins, wall came tick which resembles bottle glass. According to archeologists Bruce Anand, says, who oversees the excavations along the banks of the South Saskatchewan River, the ancient possible source for the abindins is either southern Manitoba or northern Wyoming. That suggests people Indians who inhabited the area at the time enjoyed north-south trade links to points that were about a mere week's walk away. "Chicome," says

The banks of the South Saskatchewan River hold trade secrets.

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Below: www.ubuntu.com



Abundant, "people back there get assured a lot more than we once thought."

Uncovered during preposition work for a new bridge, this promise to provide a detailed synopsis of life on the ancient western plains. There is evidence of a beaver-watching site which generations of paleontologists used. Fossils from at least 12 basins have been recovered, most from an entire species much larger than the animals seen today. Animals include scurrying and on-grafting tools and a relatively unattached ostracine area. One of the most significant aspects of the site is that it shows a clear transition from the lower to the upper layers, the further down, the older the site. This means we have multiple layers of human occupation, allowing us to show how people changed," says Arundson. "It's very rare to see a slice of time preserved in such good conditions."

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People | For a political rocker, time has come today

Ask Steve Earle if rock 'n' roll will ever have the same political impact it did in the '60s and he gives a definitive answer: "It's going to happen again if we go into Iraq, believe me." Besides being a first-class rock n' roll artist, Earle's latest disc, *Jesse James*, questions U.S. foreignness, emissions peace in the Middle East, and acknowledges the humanness of the American Taliban, **John Walker Lindh**. "The things I am talking about shock some people even though they don't necessarily disagree," says Earle, 47. "It's just that people are genuinely afraid of offending the families of all those people that have died."

In the case of Iraq, Earle says the U.S. administration is using the nation's sympathy and anger to carry out an agenda that was

on Bush's desk before Sept. 11. "And that embarrasses me," he says, adding, "If we start over with Islam, if we alienate the entire Islamic world to the point that they all wind up against that, that's not a war we are going to win by going in and dropping a couple of bombs. I'm trying to explain, 'OK, you want to get even for Sept. 11, then give me \$100,000 and your oldest son,' cause that's what we're talking about." In order to avoid another Vietnam, Earle wants to re-engage the generation that fought against that war. "Some of these people opened war-bred scars, prolonged and invested in the stock market. It's not that they sold out, it's that they became so comfortable—they just didn't stay vigilant!" SHARON DEZIEL

Diversions | Sook-Yin Lee

Here's what the host of CBC Radio's *Definitely Not the OpenWeek*:

BOOKS THE END OF WAR (AND THE DEATH OF HETEROSEXUALITY) by Ben Anderson "He believes that we are moving to a place where sexual orientation will be a moot point."
MUSIC BROKEN SILENCE by Scott Young "I'm a fan of the band's use of people from outside Canada as the Toronto music scene, the CD goes through all kinds of musical moods, yet still feels very cohesive."



Film | A casting charade

It sounds like a real-life take a Hollywood for the '60s—a cool pop production set in Paris—and remake it in the new cinematic style that was sweeping through Paris at the time, the French New Wave. That's what American director **Jean-Luc Godard** (Silence of the Lambs) has attempted by transforming *Chaos* into *The Truth About Charlie*. His film is both a clever homage and a spirited reinvention that somewhere in the whimsy, the wit and chaos of the original have been lost.

The most obvious problem is the casting. In the *Audrey Hepburn* role, **Therese Hutton** (the silent plays Regina Lambert)—who comes across to find her husband murdered, then falls into a maelstrom of intrigue as gangsters try to recover the loot he left behind. **Mark Wahlberg** (Oscar-nominated takes on the *Good Will Hunting* role of Jesus Christ) plays the mysterious man who comes to her aid, and falls into her arms. Hutton seems to mimic Hepburn's wide-eyed innocence, yet lacks her authority and poise; she's just a slithery dancer on the run. And Wahlberg is ill-suited to play a debonair enigma. Yes, he looks good with his short slick, but those heavy eyes just can't project sympathy. As if required by the film's high



Wahlberg's ill-suited as a debonair enigma.

style, the two leads generate little chemistry. Godard's smartest reinvention is making the police inspector a woman, portrayed with evocative nuance by **Delphine Choulin**. His direction, meanwhile, is steeped in New Wave whimsy and the influences go beyond *Godard* and *Truffaut* to the contemporary films they've influenced, notably *Run Lola Run*. She is a fluid, kinetic style, the actor unfolds as a breathless fast pace, with the characters scrambling to keep up with the fast-paced plot. Everyone's always running or explaining. There are moments of anguished disbelief when all the characters' change patterns in a surreal bangle. But despite a rich world-music soundtrack—*It's a Boy* from *Myra Bontal*'s disc, *Over the Moon*—the original—the New Wave *Chaos* never finds the groove.

ERIN G. JOHNSON

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Books | *Cunning of age*

The book: *Teenage, or, Teeny's Tale*. It's a comedian/globe photographer's assistant who overflows on sex, drugs, laughter and tears. He has a long-suffering boyfriend and a fashion model co-girlfriend who can still pull his heartstrings.

The author: Alan Cumming, 37, is a Scottish actor with a bad-boy reputation who made his name on stage in London before showing up overseas (*Circle of Friends*, *Spy Kids*, *Jane and the Pigeons*). His ex-wife is British actress Hilary Lyon. His boyfriend's name is Nik.

Because of the superficial parallel, it's tempting to read Cumming's charming first

novel as Alan's Tale. One wouldn't be far off—Cumming admits that characters in the book are based on friends, and some of Teeny's wild antics stem from his own experiences. But don't get too carried away by the book's autobiographical feel. "You have to accept that people will not always understand that the book is not literally true," says Cumming, who's in Vancouver filming *Kill Me 2*. "It's one of the weirdest things about being famous—people know a ton of stuff about you whether it is right or wrong. I used to try and give people a condensed version of who I really am but, uh, f—it. You can't battle the American media."

Cumming, who currently lives in New York, doesn't bother fighting misogyny

Alas—Cumming's in Vancouver filming *Kill Me 2* and living the literary high life

toos anymore. Instead he surrounds himself with close friends, people who, over the years, have become like family. This is yet another theme from his life that he's brought to his work. Cumming exploded in *Teeney's Tale* and it was behind *The Anniversary Party*, the film he co-wrote, co-directed and co-starred in with friend Jennifer Jason Leigh. It's the basis for the documentary he filmed of his London social circle and a screenplay he's currently working on. "I'm obsessed with it," admits Cumming, who obviously has quite a few tales to tell.

AMY CAMERON

PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSICA BLOOM

Books | *British and Irish trees, with an attitude*

You don't have to be an arborist nor to be completely beguiled by foliage with adorable Doreen McMurth, Thomas Pakenham's collection of stunning photos and often caustic commentary. This volume—Pakenham has written others on foreign favorites—is dedicated to some 60 trees or groups of trees in Britain and Ireland in which the author detects "a strong personality." Not all of them are native. One description of an extraordinary colonnade of monkey puzzle trees near Exeter, grown from seeds imported from Chile in 1844, explains their strange name. But Pakenham's heart belongs to native hemlocks, especially those mentioned in poetry or history. He visits the blue pine "Tree in Dorset, a specimen under which was Thomas Britain's first trade union in 1833; the six lone workers involved were shipped to Australia, and the 18 in total Northway Oak in Lincolnshire. Two centuries ago the local gentry hosted dinners for 20 nobles in hollow trunks. To Pakenham's pleasure, the oak is still going strong, while "the squares of Southport Park have long vanished."



BEST OF THE YEAR

Fiction

POSTHUMOUS WINNER

1. **THE LAST CHORDS**, by Jennifer Smith 3
2. **THE WINDMILL OF NEW PAUL**, by William Bradford Huie 2
3. **UNLESS**, by Christopher D'Amico 3
4. **THE LITTLE GIRL**, by Lisa Fiedler 4
5. **BAKING**, by Andrew Ross 3
6. **THE INLAND WIFE**, by Judith Kerr 3
7. **FRANCY MYRTLES**, by Lisa Fiedler 3
8. **THE DEEP END**, by Stephen Gellman 3
9. **LOVE OF MY MOTHER**, by Lisa Fiedler 3
10. **THE GIRL ON THE TRAIN**, by Lisa Fiedler 3

Nonfiction

1. **THE LAST CHORDS**, by Jennifer Smith 3
2. **THE WINDMILL OF NEW PAUL**, by William Bradford Huie 2
3. **THE GIRL ON THE TRAIN**, by Lisa Fiedler 3
4. **THE GIRL ON THE TRAIN**, by Lisa Fiedler 3
5. **THE GIRL ON THE TRAIN**, by Lisa Fiedler 3
6. **THE GIRL ON THE TRAIN**, by Lisa Fiedler 3
7. **THE GIRL ON THE TRAIN**, by Lisa Fiedler 3
8. **THE GIRL ON THE TRAIN**, by Lisa Fiedler 3
9. **THE GIRL ON THE TRAIN**, by Lisa Fiedler 3
10. **THE GIRL ON THE TRAIN**, by Lisa Fiedler 3

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OF BUSHES AND STONES

The President, unfortunately, believes he can get exactly what he wants

Under orders of his government, Ashraf Karwan or Ali Gase, Mr. Bush never won his beating, against an Vietnam, unrelated with communism or crushed up Rolling Stones song to annoy her parents.

From a profile of George W. Bush in the New York Times, June, 2000

SO I GET these two tickets, Rolling Stones at SkyDome. Tike, say 14-year-old, show her what rock was like in dad's day. We sit up in the bleachers watching Mick and Keith, both of them pushing 60, grinning and gyrating and generally raising the *Exaggerated* Tummy look comatose, not even surviving but veritable poster boys for the wild life. The people around us are feeling frisky, too. Boomer eyes, mostly (do I look that old, I ask my son over the day, he nods, cold and frowns), and some, some quietly eating rice, but others not only sitting along but jump up and dance, and the sweet smell of grease with our eyes, and I can feel, read the straining nostrils of my generation, my status to personal authority drifting off too.

The mind reels, the world turns. Last couple of decades, running homes will be full of demanding old folks who, when the plane is out of puddling at the doctor's not in, will break into a chorus of *You Can't Always Get What You Want*, rapping their walkers in time. The dense crowd comely behind it out, the song acquiring an aid of poignancy as a well-loved generation takes the inevitable loss of mid-life. Yet that didn't stop them from snapping up \$45 Stones T-shirts and even \$600 leather jackets—or, for top-feyers, from leaving in limos, suggesting they're gotten in least some of what they want.

Which brings us, naturally, back to George W. Bush.

For, as the Times piece noted, here was a fellow famously out of sync, a college maverick accused not far from Vietnam but for leading a Christian war, a beer-guzzling first boy out of his father's age. Later, as a politician, Bush relied against the pessimism and self-indulgence of his generation.

And last year, pushing a federal budget, he told aides to hand out copies of *You Can't Always Get What You Want* to reporters, the point being that competing interests couldn't all have their wishes.

Which is kind of ironic because Bush, beyond a doubt, the World's Greatest Living Example of how a lady first get exactly what they want, whether they deserve it or not. And now, as the World's Most Powerful Man, he seems intent on doing as if the globe is his first house.

Bush's sense of entitlement comes not from being a '60s guy, it seems, but from being a Bush. His daddy's friends buried him out of dry-bake in the oil patch, hanging dead hell in Florida. Even his presidency has been derailed, politically speaking. For, other than rewriting rich friends with tax breaks and ditching the old international treaty, Bush seemed clueless what to do with his new power until Osama bin Laden came calling.

Suddenly, the candidate who took the Taliban for a rock hard was a leader on a mission, raising Osama and signing to an-

other villain, Saddam Hussein. The man who argued bin Laden in foreign dealings—who morally condemned "human-building"—now preaches the doctrine of "you-are-prove" trials and pushes serial regime change, keeping Saddam's demise will help topple other Middle Eastern autocrats as well. European say, who, how does it work? No evidence of an al-Qaeda Iraq connection, the CIA says? There is too.

The President was what he wants—that's the real Bush Doctrine—but the questions pile up like evidence. "We just learned a lesson," Bush said after the Bush bombing, apparently just noting that he hadn't yet killed all the bad guys. Can Washington handle Iraq and still take on terrorism around the globe? And if another chance "man of evil" member, North Korea, has taken already, why single out Saddam? And, for that matter, if the administration is serious on arms control in Baghdad, why not in the super-armed suburbs of Washington?

Bush has tried—and failed—to explain his Iraq fixation. Let's help him out. Here's a quick list: a) finish his father's grudge match with Saddam, b) live up all that oil (black gold, Texas oil), c) keep fighting foreign wars and maybe Americans won't notice their fading economy and tariff him. He they did indeed. I say I'll all of the above, plus Iraq is easy pickings compared to North Korea, which wouldn't need much more to obliterate, say, Seoul. And after Saddam? Who knows? Who says Bush could manage a post-Saddam Iraq, or the regional mayhem and new terrorism a war could unleash?

Bush does—and Bush wants what he wants. And here's what I say to this: enough of this permissiveness and self-indulgence in government! It's time to show a little self-control, to grow up. You're giving our generation a bad name, Mr. President, not to mention making disaster. The rest of us want to realize that nothing along with a megafaced Mick and Keith is about as close as we'll get to the beer-bubbling fuel of life, to life with no limits. And even the Stones cannot resist, grab one of those tapes you give reporters, Mr. President. Go ahead and crack it up. You can't always get what you want. You can't always get what you want. You can't always get what you want.

If the rest of us are lucky, we'll get what we need.

Bob Levin is executive editor of *Wired* magazine. reporter@madhouse.ca



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